LITTLE BOOKS ON ART

BENVENUTO CELLINI

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LITTLE BOOKS ON ART

GENERAL EDITOR: CYRIL DAVENPORT

BENVENUTO CELLINI

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Benvenuto Cellini
from a portrait on a tablet of
Porphyry
in the collection of M. Eugène Piot.

BENVENUTO CELLINI

BY

ROBERT H. HOBART CUST, M.A.
MAGD. COLL., OXON.

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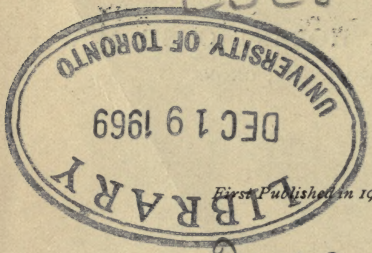

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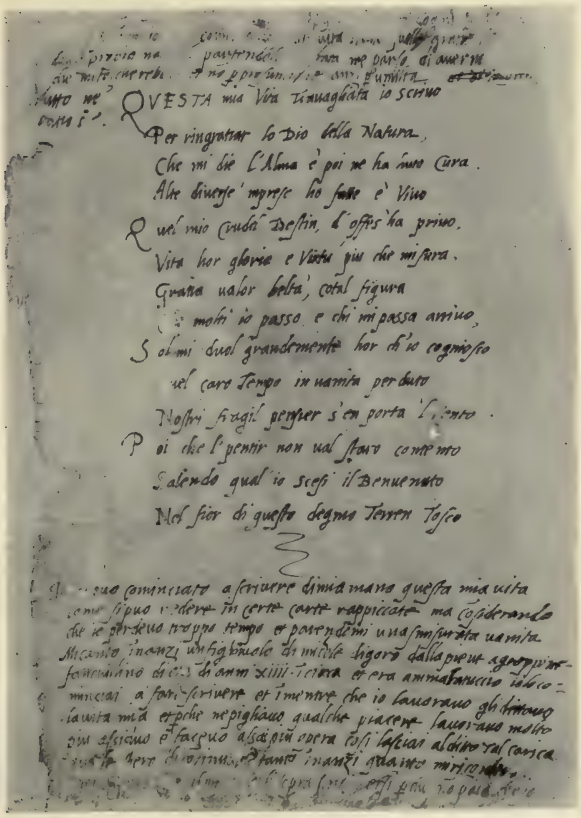


FIRST PAGE OF THE "AUTOBIOGRAPHY"

BENVENUTO CELLINI

CHAPTER I

BIRTH, PARENTAGE, AND EARLY LIFE—CELLINI'S TEACHERS AND THE INFLUENCES UNDER WHICH HE COMMENCED HIS CAREER

1500–1523

WHEN a man of especially strong individuality has already drawn for the benefit of posterity his own idea of himself, and has placed on record the events of his life from his own personal point of view, it seems a somewhat superfluous, and by no means an easy task to attempt to construct a reduced picture of him in more conventional, and necessarily more restrained, language. In the case of most artists and craftsmen their lives and deeds, and the rest, have to be pieced together from contemporary documents and strung into connected sequence by surmise and conjecture, more or less tentative. But when approaching the history of Benvenuto Cellini

we are almost overpowered by the mass of information "hurled at us" by the man himself; and although a number of his more reckless statements have been so hotly contested by merciless criticism that we are compelled to regard them with a certain amount of caution; nevertheless as regards the salient facts in his life and wanderings, his narrative is fairly worthy of credence. It is with these facts that we are principally concerned here.

Our hero preludes his autobiography by relating a number of more or less traditionary fables regarding the origin and glorious deeds of a semi-mythical ancestry. He arrives at more sober facts at last with the words: "My ancestors lived in the Val d' Ambra and there they had great possessions." One of the younger members of this family, becoming involved in a feud with a neighbouring youth, was sent by his relatives to Florence; where a house and other property were purchased for him. Here he settled down, married, and had several sons and daughters; one of whom, Andrea, was our hero's grandfather. Andrea appears to have been an architect of some merit, a profession in which his third son, Giovanni, followed him; combining it, however, with considerable ability as a musician.

BIRTHPLACE OF BENVENUTO CELLINI IN THE VIA CHIARA, FLORENCE

Giovanni, in due course, fell in love with Elisabetta, daughter of one Stefano Granacci, a neighbour, and insisted upon marrying her without a dowry. Of this alliance there were issue four children, in the following order: Cosa (*Nicolosa*); Benvenuto; Reparata (also called *Liperata*); and Giovan Francesco (*Cecchino*). Benvenuto was born, he tells us, upon All-Hallows Eve in the year 1500.

It is scarcely necessary to pause here over the relation of prodigies which, we are told, occurred during the childhood of this gifted being. It is worth recording, however, how Giovanni Cellini, having obtained an appointment in the Florentine State orchestra, took his son Benvenuto to play before the Gonfaloniere, Piero Soderini. We are informed that the child was so small at that time, that he had to be carried in the arms of one of the Palace attendants; but his performance of the soprano part in some of the concerted pieces executed upon this occasion seems to have so charmed and pleased the members of the Council that his father was highly complimented, and urged to persevere in the training of this infant phenomenon. From documentary evidence we learn that the clever child was at that period actually en-

rolled amongst the regular performers in this State orchestra. Music, however, proved a constant source of contention between father and son, and it was with great difficulty and by much persistence that the latter obtained permission to pursue the employment towards which both his inclination and his genius directed him. His father so far gave in to his wishes as to allow him to commence his studies in the "Art of the Goldsmith" in the workshop of Michele Brandini, a worker in precious metals from Pizzidimonte; whose son,—better known in after years as Baccio Bandinelli,—subsequently became Benvenuto's most bitter and formidable rival.

At the age of fifteen, and this time in opposition to his father's wishes, Benvenuto apprenticed himself to one Antonio di Sandro Giamberti (nicknamed "Marcone the Goldsmith"), under whose able teaching he made great progress; although he would have us know that he still played sometimes upon his flute and his cornet out of regard to filial duty.

The following year, in company with his younger brother, Cecchino, Benvenuto was concerned in a brawl near the Porta San Gallo, wherein the said younger brother was somewhat seriously injured. In consequence of this

both were expelled from the city. They retired to Siena, where the elder brother at once obtained employment at his trade with one Francesco Castoro, a celebrated Sienese craftsman; whilst the younger, nominally a student of Latin literature, indulged himself in dissipation and riotous living. Cardinal de' Medici (afterwards Pope Clement VII) having procured the recall of the young men (prompted, says Benvenuto, by a mischievous pupil of the elder Cellini), presently recommended his father to send Benvenuto to Bologna, there to study music under a certain celebrated Maestro Antonio. In Bologna our hero actually became the pupil of Ercole *del Piffero* ("the Piper's Son"), and even earned money by his skill in "that accursed art." At the same time he continued to employ his talents on work more congenial to him in the house of the Bolognese miniaturist, Scipione Cavaletti; designing and executing work for a Jew, named Graziadio (*Thank-God*).

Six months after this we find him at home again in Florence assisting his family by his earnings. A quarrel with his brother,—now a swashbuckling and impecunious mercenary in the troop of Giovanni, *delle Bande Nere*,—drove him once more from Florence;

and he started out with the intention of proceeding to Rome. Missing his bearings, however, he found himself at Lucca, from whence he wandered to Pisa. Here he attracted the attention of, and found favour with a Pisan goldsmith of repute, named Ulivieri di Filippo della Chiostra, who showed him very special kindness, and found him work for an entire year (1517). It was during this stay at Pisa that Benvenuto appears to have first acquired his taste for studying antiquities; and he tells us that he spent a great deal of spare time wandering about that city examining ancient relics of Greek and Roman art.

He appears to have kept up a frequent correspondence with his father: although Giovanni's references to music only succeeded in infuriating him, and in postponing his desire to return to his native city. However, presently falling ill of fever he was fain to seek his home to be nursed; and after some discussion an agreement was come to between him and his father on the subject of this their constant bone of contention. Upon the father agreeing not to worry the son any more, Benvenuto promised to continue to practise the art with sufficient diligence to give his father pleasure when he desired. On his recovery Benvenuto re-

paired once more to the workshop of Marcone the Goldsmith (his former friend), and again set to work to assist his family by his earnings.

At this period there arrived in Florence the celebrated sculptor, Pietro Torrigiano, who was seeking throughout Italy for clever workmen to assist him in carrying out certain important commissions entrusted to him by Henry VIII, King of England. Meeting the young Benvenuto Cellini and struck by the promise shown in his work, this great craftsman endeavoured to persuade the younger man to accompany him to London. The violence and bluster of his manner, and, above all, his boasting reference to the fact that many years before he had broken Michelangelo's nose in a youthful quarrel, so disgusted Benvenuto that he flatly refused Torrigiano's tempting offer.

After this episode Benvenuto informs us that he took particular interest in studying Michelangelo's style, and furthermore contracted a close friendship with Francesco, son of the celebrated painter Filippino, and grandson of the still more famous Fra Filippo, Lippi. These two young men seem to have passed much time together in close examination of a number of drawings of Roman antiquities

made by Filippino himself; and from this study Benvenuto appears to have derived much inspiration for the work that he was at that time carrying out for Francesco Salimbene, another Florentine goldsmith of repute.

Once more we are told of disagreement with his father on the subject of music; and taking counsel with a young friend, named Battista Tasso,[1] who had also fallen out with his relatives, the two impetuous youngsters resolved to try their fortunes in Rome. At Siena, however, the footsore and discouraged Tasso was for returning home, but Benvenuto, who had the command of the funds for the expedition, compelled him to continue the journey. [This was in the year 1519, since we are expressly told by the subject of this memoir that he was exactly nineteen, and that his age went with the century.] Upon their arrival in the Eternal City, Benvenuto obtained work in the shop of a fellow-countryman, Giovanni De Georgis, from Firenzuola (best known by the name of his native place). Here, however, he met with a most ungracious reception from Giannotto Giannotti, a former fellow-workman and friend in Florence, then employed by Firenzuola. Tasso soon got tired of Rome and departed

[1] Subsequently a celebrated wood-carver.

to his home; but Benvenuto remained on for a space of two years. During this time he succeeded in quarrelling with Firenzuola, and deserting his service for that of a Milanese goldsmith, named Paolo Arsago. This quarrel was, however, duly patched up, and the angry combatants once more became fast friends.

In Florence again in 1521 Benvenuto returned to the service of Salimbene, continued his friendship with the young Francesco Lippi, and to his own evident disgust and annoyance was once more entangled by musical engagements.

But so turbulent a temperament was not likely to be long at rest. A violent quarrel with certain members of the Guasconti family and serious injury inflicted upon one of them led to Benvenuto's arrest and appearance before the Eight. After the preliminary examination, in the temporary absence of the Court, he managed to escape from the Palace, and proceeded to take further vengeance upon his enemies. Then, supplied with armour and a sum of ready cash by his youthful and devoted friend, Piero di Giovanni Landi, and disguised as a friar through the kindly assistance of a monk named Fra Alessio Strozzi, he contrived to pass the gates of Florence and reach Montui,

where horses were in readiness to convey him to Siena under cover of night. By taking refuge in flight he escaped a second arrest. Yet, in spite of influential intercession and the prayers of his father, sentence of banishment with severest penalties attached was pronounced upon him.

Arriving safely, however, at Siena he proceeded thence by post to Rome; and it was on the way thither that he received the news that his father's former friend and patron, Giulio de' Medici, had ascended the Chair of Saint Peter under the name of Clement VII.

CHAPTER II

BENVENUTO CELLINI'S EARLY ARTISTIC CAREER UP TO THE SIEGE OF ROME 1523–1527

IT is at this point that the really important part of Cellini's artistic life may be said to have commenced.

Our young hero's earliest work in the Eternal City was accomplished in the workshop of a craftsman, whom he calls Master Santi the Goldsmith—probably known to fame as Santo di Cola—who, besides being a goldsmith by trade, had also held an official post at the Papal Court. As a matter of actual fact Master Santi himself was dead at this period, but his business was being carried on, nominally by his son, but actually under the control and management of a clever foreman, named Lucangelo. This man (once a peasant lad at Jesi) had been trained by his late master, Santo, and was, as Benvenuto ungrudgingly admits, an artist of considerable skill in his own line: i.e. the fashioning of large pieces of plate.

It would be impossible, in a limited space, to enumerate all the commissions executed by the young Cellini at this period: even those expressly alluded to or described in the famous "Autobiography"; but it is worth while recording that the candlesticks made for Don Francesco di Cabrera, Bishop of Salamanca, and some of the numerous ewers and vases ordered by the Pope and various members of his Court were carried out after designs by one of Raphael Sanzio's pupils, Gianfrancesco Penni, more usually styled *il Fattore* ("the Artisan").

It was during this sojourn in Rome that Benvenuto again had opportunities, of which he fully availed himself, for studying the best works of Michelangelo, of Raphael, and of the other magnificent geniuses of the period immediately preceding his own. And it was in connection with his enthusiasm for these studies that he encountered in the celebrated Villa Farnesina one of his earliest and best patronesses amongst ladies of rank: Sulpicia,[1] daughter of Pandolfo Petrucci, tyrant of Siena, and wife of Sigismondo Chigi, brother to the owner of that famous palace. This noble lady

[1] In the "Autobiography" she is styled "Portia"; but this is a mistake. Portia was her elder sister, married to Buoncompagno Agazzari.

took a great interest in his work and his talents, and she provided him with a great deal of work: amongst which the most noticeable object was a lily of brilliants adorned with enamel and chasings. This work aroused the scornful raillery of Lucangelo, subsequently converted into jealous fury on finding how handsome were the sums that this noble lady willingly paid for the satisfaction of her desires.

A pair of ewers for the same Bishop of Salamanca, to be made from Penni's designs, produced another competition between Benvenuto and Lucangelo; but for this work he found accommodation in the shop of a certain Giovan Piero della Tacca, a Milanese.[1]

All this time Benvenuto was subsidizing his family in Florence; and he had even returned once more to his musical studies, partly in consequence of a tender and affectionate letter of entreaty from his father, and partly in order to please a youngster of good family, named Paolino, whom he had been induced to take into his employment, and to whom he became much attached. This return to the art of music led to a request by a native of Lucca,

[1] This man is supposed by some authorities to be identical with the goldsmith Crivelli.

named Lorenzo,[1] a trombone-player in the Papal orchestra (at the instigation of a certain Giangiacomo de' Berardini, who combined the duties of fifer and leader in the same orchestra), that Cellini would undertake the soprano part in some motetts to be performed before His Holiness at the approaching Feast of the Assumption. Benvenuto's success upon this occasion induced Giangiacomo to offer him a permanent post in the orchestra. At first he demurred, but terrified by a vision in his dreams of his infuriated father, he hastily consented; and it is as one of the Court musicians that his name appears later on in the Account Books of the Papal household during the memorable siege of Castel Sant' Angelo.

It was with considerable difficulty that Cellini obtained payment for the ewer fashioned for the Bishop of Salamanca. Indeed, he had to resort to arms to defend his life and property from the violence of that prelate's retainers. Ultimately, however, he not only gained his point, but also acquired a reputation for firmness and determination of character.

Plate, articles of jewellery, and other objects of luxury for cardinals, prelates, and nobles of the Court, seem to have kept him extremely

[1] He was by trade an inlayer of wood.

busy. In the matter of remuneration he met with varied treatment at the hands of his patrons, but in his own estimation his success was unqualified. His wild and harum-scarum adventures at this period may be a source of great amusement to the readers of the "Autobiography"; but since they do not concern his career as a craftsman they may be omitted here. Nevertheless, constant intercourse with the many brilliant men of genius then congregated in the Eternal City unquestionably aroused in him feelings of genuine rivalry and competition, and to this cause were due most of the fine achievements completed at this period. Benvenuto seems to have experimented in almost every branch of his beloved art, and, if we are to believe his own report, excelled in them all. For example: in seal-cutting he endeavoured to outdo Lautizio di Meo Rotelli, of Perugia; in the fashioning of *Paxes*, the celebrated Milanese maker of that particular object of devotion, Ambrogio Foppa, better known as *Caradosso;* and countless other lesser varieties of work.

A violent outbreak of the plague,—that awful scourge of Europe during those centuries,—however, brought all these commissions and experiments to an end, and provided Benvenuto

with more leisure. He therefore once more turned his attention to the systematic study of ancient art and architecture, combining with these occupations an interest in field-sports. During his expeditions in the outskirts of Rome and over the Campagna he encountered many treasure-hunters; and from them acquired gems, medals and other small objects of considerable value, both pecuniary and artistic.

Attracted to Rome—perhaps by the prevalent epidemic—the famous surgeon, Giacomo da Carpi, chanced to meet Cellini, and ordered of him certain small vases designed after antique models. These vases, we learn later, were subsequently passed off by this unscrupulous quack as genuine antiques.[1] A severe illness which overtook Benvenuto at this time and the gay doings of the party of artistic friends still remaining in Rome, who by feasting and merriment endeavoured to divert their minds from the horrors of the prevailing epidemic, are again beside our object here. We may record, however, in passing the names of a few of these revellers, since their influence could not be entirely without effect upon Cellini's artistic career. The best known of these was Giulio

[1] Cf. p. 89, *infra*.

Pippi, known to fame as *Giulio Romano*. Besides this celebrated artist there were Michelangelo di Bernardino di Michele, the Sienese sculptor; *il Fattore* aforesaid; Francesco di Bartolommeo Lippini, more usually known as *Bachiaccha;* and last, but not least, the celebrated *improvisatore*, Eurialo Morani, of Ascoli (*Aurelio Ascolano*).[1]

Again we read of further experiments; this time in the difficult art of inlaying in metals: first in the Turkish fashion; and next in a fashion invented by Benvenuto himself. Steel finger-rings "to bring luck" are not beneath the craftsman's notice; and once more he rivals Caradosso in the fashioning of medallions to be worn in hats.

The year 1527 is memorable for the celebrated siege of Rome by Charles, Constable de Bourbon. Pope Clement VII and thirteen of his Cardinals in terror took refuge in Castel Sant' Angelo. Benvenuto being, as has been pointed out, a member of the Papal household, took service as bombardier; and, according to his own account, his may have been the hand

[1] Cf. CUST, ROBERT H. HOBART, "Giovanni Antonio Bazzi, hitherto usually styled 'Sodoma,' the Man and the Painter, 1477–1544." A Study. London. John Murray. 1906. pp. 153, 154 (note).

that slew the Constable himself,[1] and wounded the Prince of Orange.

With one unlucky exception his labours as goldsmith naturally ceased during these troubled weeks. That exception was the occasion on which he was directed by the Pope himself, in the presence of his confidential attendant Cavalierino, to unset the precious stones from the tiaras and other jewelled ornaments belonging to the Treasury of St. Peter; to melt down the settings: and to stitch these valuable objects for greater safety into the linings of the Holy Father's own garments. This commission, as we learn later, was to cost the unlucky craftsman very dear during the reign of Pope Clement's successor.[2]

[1] It would be incorrect to state, as some writers have done, that Cellini actually claimed to have done this act. There was a thick fog at the time, and some *one of the party*, in whose company Benvenuto was, *certainly did fire the shot* that slew the Constable.

[2] Cf. p. 58, *infra*.

CHAPTER III

FROM THE SIEGE OF ROME TO THE DEATH OF POPE CLEMENT VII

1527–1534

AS soon as the truce was signed and the brave defenders of Castel Sant' Angelo found themselves once more at liberty, Cellini betook himself to Florence to visit his father and to buy off the ban which was still running against him. He then was anxious to accept an offer of military employment under the famous *condottiere*, Orazio Baglioni, who had been recently appointed Captain-General of the Florentine troops, but moved by the entreaties of his father he abandoned the idea. At the same time, however, on account of the plague then raging in Florence, his father implored him to depart to Mantua for a while. Thither he accordingly repaired, finding employment immediately with a goldsmith named Master Niccolò, a native of Milan, in the service of the Gonzaga family. Benvenuto met here once more his former friend, the painter Giulio

Romano, who had been engaged by the Marquess of Mantua, Federigo Gonzaga, to decorate his recently constructed Palazzo del Tè. Giulio welcomed his friend warmly and recommended him to the Marquess, who immediately commissioned from him a design for a reliquary in which to preserve a phial containing some of the Precious Blood of the Divine Redeemer : the greatest treasure of the House of Gonzaga. The craftsman tells us that he constructed a model of wax : a seated figure of " Jesus Christ," holding His Cross and showing the Wound in His Side ; but the only traces of this work now remaining are a bronze model and an old drawing. It may have been carried out by Master Niccolò above-mentioned ; but in any case it is important in the chronicle of Cellini's artistic career as being perhaps the earliest of his works to which we can assign an exact date. Whilst in Mantua Benvenuto also came under the notice of the Marquess' younger brother, Ercole, Cardinal of Mantua. For this prelate, as well as for the Marquess, Cellini made several seals, to which he makes further and more detailed reference in his " Treatise on the Art of the Goldsmith." A well-preserved impression of the most important of these seals, the Cardinal's Pontifical

SEAL OF CARDINAL ERCOLE DI GONZAGA

Seal, may still be seen attached to a document dated Mantua, August 12th 1540.[1]

We are told that at first Federigo Gonzaga had wished to keep Cellini permanently in his service; but some angry expressions uttered by Benvenuto whilst suffering from an attack of quartan fever having been repeated to that Prince, relations between them became strained, so that on receiving the handsome sums due to him for work done, to which was added a pressing invitation from the Cardinal to visit him in Rome, Cellini returned once more to Florence. Here he experienced the painful shock of finding his father and most of his family dead of the plague. He presently, however, discovered that his brother Cecchino and his sister Liperata (or Reparata) were still alive; although the latter was mourning both her husband and her only child. Her younger brother had nevertheless found her a new husband; and Cellini relates rather amusingly the jealousy of the bridegroom at her transports over a brother of whom he seems never even to have heard.

The Republic of Florence, taking the opportunity of the disorders in the Eternal City and

[1] Cf. PLON, EUGENE, "Benvenuto Cellini, Orfevre, Medailleur, etc.," Paris, p. 187 *et seq.*

the discomfiture of Pope Clement VII, had driven the Medici into exile, and was once more a prey to turmoil and party faction. Although it had been Cellini's intention to proceed at once to Rome, the persuasions of his family and friends induced him to remain with them in his native city, and he commenced to work once more in the Mercato Nuovo. Whilst labouring there he received two commissions which, to his enormous satisfaction, brought him into direct touch with that idol of his artistic veneration, the great Michelangelo. Both of these commissions were for medallions, a species of work in which it may be freely admitted that Benvenuto's skill and taste were of the highest order. The first of these was commissioned by a certain Girolamo Marretti, a Sienese merchant long resident in Turkey. It was to be worn as an ornament in a hat, and represented "*Hercules wrestling with the Nemean Lion.*" The workmanship of this beautiful object won the highest commendation from the great master, so that when a gay young noble, named Federigo Ginori, besought him for a design for a similar medallion representing "*Atlas bearing the World upon his shoulders,*" although he did not altogether refuse to make him a rough sketch, he referred the young man

ANTIQUE CAMEO WITH BUSTS OF THE FOUR CÆSARS
Cabinet de France

LEDA AND THE SWAN
Cabinet of Gems, Vienna

ANTIQUE GEMS SET AND RESTORED BY CELLINI

to Cellini for a more complete model; and it was, moreover, Cellini's model that was accepted for the completed work. We may observe that the medallion was a composite one and set with precious stones, the Globe being fashioned of crystal and the Zodiac of lapis-lazuli.[1]

Federigo Ginori's benefits and goodwill for Cellini did not end here; for it was through him that the craftsman gained the friendship, so much valued by him later, of that agreeable and cultivated personage, Luigi Alamanni.

Pope Clement VII, having made peace with the Emperor Charles V, now proceeded to declare war on behalf of his Medici relatives with the City of Florence. His Holiness being by chance reminded by a certain ferry-boat owner, named Jacopo dello Sciorino (called usually Jacopino *della Barca*) of Cellini's existence, sent letters to him commanding his presence in Rome in order to carry out some commissions for him. Benvenuto tells us that he had considerable compunction at leaving his native town at this juncture; but on re-

[1] We may note here that the intermediary between the two artists was Giuliano Bugiardini, a lesser-known, but still brilliant, painter, styled later by his master Michelangelo, on account of his self-satisfaction in his own work, *il Beato*.

peated orders arriving from the Holy Father, he committed his property to the care of his devoted friend Piero Landi,[1] and reluctantly obeyed.

On arriving in Rome Cellini sought out all his former friends, including a goldsmith named Raffaello del Moro, for whom he appears to have cherished a considerable amount of admiration. He did not, however, visit his correspondent Jacopino della Barca till about fifteen days after his arrival, which irritated that personage exceedingly. We read that he finally visited him upon Holy Thursday (1529), and that the two men at once proceeded to the Vatican, where they found the Pope indisposed and in bed. Cellini's interview with the Holy Father is most graphically described in the "Autobiography," and we learn that the craftsman there and then confessed to having retained a small portion of the gold remaining in the bottom of his crucible on the occasion of the melting down of the Apostolic Treasure during the Siege. The Pope, appeased and satisfied by his explanation and confession, gave him full absolution, and summoning Jacopo Salviati and Niccolò Schomberg della Magna, Archbishop of Capua, who during this interview had retired to a distant part of his chamber,

[1] Cf. p. 9, *supra*.

he commended Cellini to the special notice and care of the latter dignitary. He next proceeded to commission the young craftsman to make for him a Morse, the principal feature of which was to be a large and finely cut diamond, which formed part of his treasure.

Now it would appear that the young noble, Federigo Ginori, for whom (as has been related above) Benvenuto laboured in Florence, had died of consumption, and the beautiful medallion fashioned for him had passed into the possession of his friend Luigi Alamanni. This brilliant individual presented it, together with some examples of his own literary skill, to King Francis I of France; who, much struck by the beauty of the medallion, expressed a great desire to see the author of it: a desire not, however, gratified until some years later.

The Pope's favour, and the commissions given to Cellini in consequence thereof, soon aroused violent jealousy amongst the other craftsmen then residing in Rome. Amongst these the most hostile were a certain Micheletto[1] and one Pompeo de Capitaneis.[2] This latter was

[1] Perhaps surnamed Nardini. Cf. BERTOLOTTI, "Artisti Lombardi, etc." Vol. I, pp. 246–7.

[2] *Ibid. op. cit.*, pp. 248, 249; and "Artisti Subalpini," p. 118.

a Milanese, like so many of the craft then working in Rome. He was a great favourite with the Pope, and was a relative of a certain Messer Trajano, who held the post of Papal Chamberlain. These two men induced His Holiness to institute a competition for the execution of the Morse between their drawings and Cellini's wax model; in which, however, the latter was triumphantly victorious.[1]

This victory resulted in a further commission to undertake the Papal coinage. Here opposition on the score of the necessity for designs was raised by Bandinello (*Baccio*) Bandinelli, an interference bitterly resented by our hero. Examples of the gold doubloons made upon this occasion may still be seen in the Royal Cabinet of Coins at Turin and in the Imperial Collection at Vienna; but there is some confusion in detail between the descriptions of them given by Cellini himself in his "Autobiography" and his "Treatises" respectively; so that it is perhaps possible that he made two coins with differing reverses.

[1] This Morse itself has long vanished, melted down in all probability in 1707 for the Napoleonic tribute; but careful drawings of it made by Francesco Bartoli early in the eighteenth century are still preserved in the British Museum. Cf. THURSTON, REV. FATHER HERBERT, S.J., "The Burlington Magazine," Vol. VIII, October, 1905.

GOLD DOUBLOON 1529-1530

SILVER TWO-CARLINI PIECE

GOLD DOUBLOON 1529-1530

Cellini continued to labour in the workshop of the goldsmith Raffaello del Moro, and that worthy appears to have cherished some hopes of securing him as a son-in-law. His unfortunate young daughter was suffering from a disease in her right hand, and at Benvenuto's suggestion Raffaello called in the celebrated surgeon, Jacomo Rastelli, of Perugia, to advise upon the case. This great practitioner, however, in performing an operation upon the injured hand, had some difficulties with his instruments, and moreover inflicted upon the girl much suffering. Upon this Cellini fashioned a small steel tool, by means of which the operation was speedily performed with but slight pain to the patient.

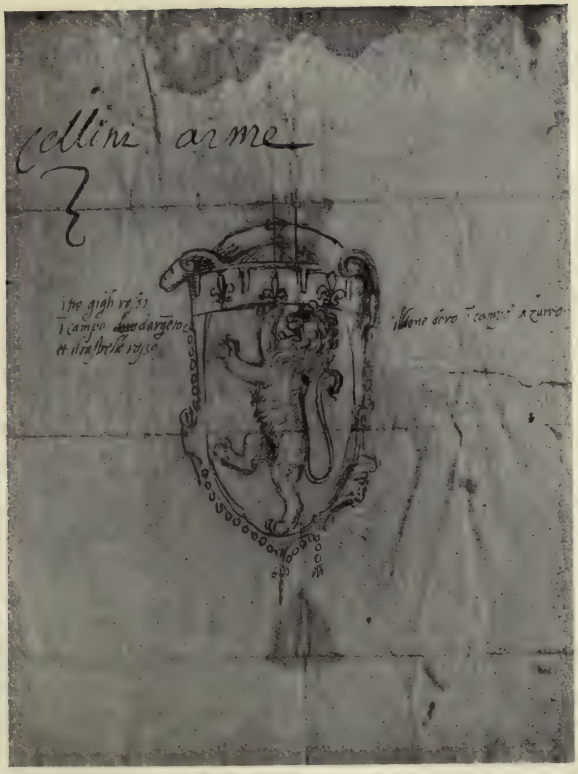
Benvenuto at this time was in close intimacy with Giovanni di Taddeo Gaddi, one of his own fellow-countrymen and Dean of the Apostolic Chamber; in whose hospitable house he met a number of distinguished and cultured personages. Amongst these he mentions a learned Greek, whom he calls Messer Giovanni (the eccentric poetaster), Ludovico da Fano, Antonio Allegretti,[1] Annibale Caro, and the painter Sebastiano Luciani (better known as Sebastiano *del Piombo*). To Monsignor Gaddi, Raffaello del

[1] A well-known Florentine poet. Two sonnets by him in praise of Cellini's "Perseus" are still extant.

Moro appealed for assistance in his matrimonial schemes; but received rather a severe rebuff from that dignitary. In consequence of this (although the reason did not transpire till some time later) a coldness sprang up between Cellini and his former friend.

Another fine coin of the value of two *carlini* was made by Benvenuto for the Pope at this time, which seems to have given great satisfaction to His Holiness. It bore upon one side a representation of "Christ walking upon the Sea," and the words, "QUARE DUBITASTI"; and upon the other a "Portrait of Pope Clement VII."

Once more that turbulent personage, Cellini's brother Cecchino, appeared upon the scene, and, becoming involved in a brawl with the Bargello's picket, accidentally received the charge from an arquebuse in his right knee. Benvenuto was at dinner when the brawl commenced, but after it had continued for some time went down to see what the disturbance was about. He arrived just after his brother, whom at first he did not recognize, had received his wound. When he recognized the injured man, he too would have thrown himself upon the picket in order to slay the man who had fired the fatal shot. His friends,



ARMS OF THE CELLINI FAMILY

however, intervened and prevented such an act of folly.

Duke Alessandro de' Medici, in whose service Cecchino was, came to visit his wounded follower and to encourage him; but whether from the wound itself or from mismanagement in its treatment the young man died: apparently in a more edifying frame of mind than he had lived. His brother gave him elaborate funeral honours, and erected a monument to his memory in San Giovanni Battista in the Via Giulia, the church specially affected by the Florentine colony in Rome. Upon his tombstone he further placed an elaborate inscription and the family coat-of-arms, varied to suit his own particular taste.

He then returned to his work for the Pope; although he continued to brood so much upon the vengeance that he meant to exact upon the arquebusier who had slain his brother that his low spirits and mental depression brought him into a poor state of health, and attracted the Pope's attention. At last he succeeded in catching his enemy unawares and killing him; a somewhat treacherous revenge, which, however, does not seem to have greatly disturbed any one, even the unlucky soldier's own comrades; whilst the powerful protection of Alessandro de' Medici

and of the Pope encouraged Cellini, not merely to go on steadily with the commissions already ordered, but to open a new shop opposite to that of his former employer, Raffaello del Moro.

His Holiness had put all the precious stones for the morse into Cellini's charge except the famous large diamond, which was in pawn. One summer night a thief, who, under the guise of a travelling goldsmith, had already spied around the workshop, broke into the house, and in spite of the efforts of a faithful watch-dog, escaped, without, however, succeeding in carrying off anything more valuable than a few rings and other small properties of Cellini's own, together with the clothing of his workmen and apprentices. This might have entailed very serious consequences; for Cellini's enemies at Court had already impugned his honesty, and should such a tale have got about, it would have been suggested that the story of the thief had been trumped up by Benvenuto himself to cover rogueries of his own. However, the safety of the valuables confounded these evil tongues.

Next, an attempt was made to fix upon Cellini a charge of coining a quantity of false money which was circulating in Rome during these days. This he also successfully refuted, and the real offenders were found and punished.

At the same time by the aid of his faithful dog he traced the thief who had robbed him, and recovered from him a portion of the stolen property.

Great floods arose in Rome in these days, so that Cellini, with his customers' valuables bestowed about his person, with difficulty escaped from his place of business to the palace of his friend Monsignor Gaddi, to whom he entrusted these precious objects until the danger should be over.

As soon as the floods had abated Benvenuto finished the morse to the immense satisfaction and pleasure of the Pope, who conferred upon him at his own request the office of Pontifical *bedel*, with a stipend of something under two hundred *scudi* per annum.

Pope Clement continued to commission other articles from the young craftsman, and finally directed him to make a design for a splendid chalice. Thereupon Cellini at once commenced to construct a model in wood and wax for this work. Instead of the usual knob on the stem of the chalice there were to be three small figures of the "Three Cardinal Virtues," and upon the base three circular panels representing respectively "the Nativity," "the Resurrection," and "the Martyrdom of Saint Peter."

Relying upon the Pope's goodwill toward him, Cellini made so bold as to apply for the appointment of Friar of the Privy Seal Office, a post which had at one time been held by the architect Bramante, and which, though carrying the monastic title and habit, had been frequently held by a layman. This, however, was rather summarily refused, and the office was conferred upon the painter Sebastiano Luciani, whereby he obtained his surname of *del Piombo*, (i.e. "of the Leaden Seal"). Civil messages and promises of better things in store were, however, sent by His Holiness; but the words uttered and implied by Cellini in his anger being repeated to the Pontiff,—who was, moreover, preparing to leave for Bologna to meet the Emperor Charles V to discuss important affairs of State,—gave so much offence that it was more than two months before any further notice was taken of the craftsman or his work. Nevertheless before his departure Pope Clement sent Roberto Pucci to inquire how the work was proceeding; and thereupon Benvenuto asked for a sum of money in advance to defray the cost of the necessary gold. To this request evasive answers were returned, but no cash.

The charge of the Papal affairs, public and private, was committed during His Holiness'

absence to Cardinal Salviati; and with that prelate Cellini had considerable friction on this question of money in advance. During the same period Benvenuto was attacked by an inflammation in the eyes which entirely incapacitated him from completing the chalice; and the unfinished state of this commission upon his return at first roused the Pope to ungovernable rage. But when he realized the craftsman's unlucky plight and the circumstances of his disputes with Cardinal Salviati, he became more moderate and kindly. Although one of the courtiers present at the interview prescribed an efficacious lotion for the affected eyes, the trouble proved to be more serious than had been at first supposed, and was only cured by very stringent remedies. Nevertheless, when once overcome it did not keep Cellini long from his work upon the Papal coinage and upon the chalice.

Pope Clement, anxious to prepare a worthy gift for King Francis I, resolved to give him a magnificent unicorn's (?) horn richly mounted. For this commission he proposed a competition between Benvenuto Cellini and a Milanese goldsmith of questionable repute named Tobbia, who was under the protection of Cardinal Salviati, now Legate at Parma. Although, as

we learn (on his own authority), Cellini's design was the most generally approved, the commission was entrusted to Tobbia, and our hero was enjoined to complete his chalice. Once more, therefore, the difficulty of material arose, and the influence of rival craftsmen, especially that of Pompeo de Capitaneis, contrived that the post at the Mint should be taken from Cellini under pretext of compelling him to complete the chalice.

Some money appears to have been eventually given to Benvenuto on account of this work; but presently the Pope, angered at the delay and furthermore goaded to fury by the reports carried to him by rival goldsmiths, demanded to have the chalice delivered up to him at once, whether complete or not. This, however, Benvenuto absolutely refused to do, although he offered to return the sum of money advanced to him for it. For such recalcitrant behaviour he was arrested and brought before the Governor of Rome and the Procurator Fiscal. After much threatening and cajoling Cellini was induced to bring his work in a corded and sealed box to be taken to the Pope, who bound himself (we are told) by oath not to open it, but to return it with the seals unbroken. How His Holiness performed this oath we learn from the "Auto-

biography"; but we also learn that Cellini recovered the unfinished work and paid over the five hundred *scudi* advanced to him. The Pope subsequently appears to have attempted, through the medium of Pompeo, to induce Cellini to make a monstrance out of the fragments of the proposed chalice; but irritated by the conduct of the intermediary the craftsman indignantly declined. Some of these fragments reappeared later in Cellini's life, and eventually formed part of a chalice presented by Duke Cosimo I to Pope Pius V on March 4th 1560, on the occasion of his own investiture as Grand Duke.[1]

Cellini's love affairs and his dabblings in the Black Art, though vastly entertaining to the general reader, are scarcely pertinent to his artistic development. He now commenced privately to make a medal for the Pope, although he declined to be drawn into any promise with regard to the reliquary.

During a dispute with a certain creditor of his partner Felice Guadagni, a stone embedded in a lump of mud hurled by the angry Benvenuto resulted in a somewhat unfortunate accident. The blow was so severe that the un-

[1] Cf. Lapi, Agostino, "Diario Fiorentino." G. O. Corazzini, Firenze, pp. 167–8.

happy victim fell down and was thought to be dead. Pompeo, happening to pass by just then, hurried off to the Pope with the report that Benvenuto had slain his rival Tobbia; and orders were issued by His Holiness that the offender should be apprehended and hung forthwith. With the help, however, of his friend Monsignor Giovanni Gaddi, Clerk of the Apostolic Chamber, well-armed and mounted upon a black Turkish charger, our hero fled to Palombara to the protection of Giovan Battista Savelli. Thence in company with the sculptor Solosmeo, who was on his way to Monte Cassino to complete the tomb of Piero de' Medici, Cellini proceeded in the direction of Naples. Adventures by the way and a search for a lost lady-love enliven the pages of the "Autobiography," but do not concern us here. At Naples work was speedily found, and commissions from the Viceroy, Pietro Alvarez di Toledo, Marchese di Villafranca, kept him well employed until he was summoned back to Rome by Cardinal de' Medici. Claiming the protection of this powerful dignitary Cellini set to work to complete a medal of *Peace* to commemorate the Peace in Christendom from 1530 to 1556. This medal had two reverses, both of which are fully described by

MEDAL MADE FOR CLEMENT VII WITH TWO VARIETIES OF REVERSE, 1534

GOLD SCUDO MADE FOR PAUL III

Cellini himself in his "Treatise upon the Work of the Goldsmith," Chapter XV. One of these was an allegorical group representing *Peace* with the words CLAVDVNTVR BELLI PORTÆ and BENVENVTVS F., whilst the other displayed *Moses striking the Rock*, and the words, VT BIBAT POPVLVS; on the obverse of both is a bust portrait of the Pope turned to the left, with the inscription, CLEMENS VII. PONT. MAX. AN. XI. MDXXXIIII. Cardinal de' Medici, however, proved to be rather an exacting patron, and we are informed that he was always endeavouring to foist new commissions upon Cellini, which greatly interfered with his progress upon the medal; and it was not through his good offices after all that the craftsman was eventually able to exhibit the finished result to His Holiness.

The Pope had been himself, we are told, continually asking for Cellini, who, emboldened by the recovery of the wounded man, took advantage of an introduction by the Pontiff's Secretary, Pietro Carnesecchi, a Florentine, to exhibit to the Holy Father various examples of his medal, together with the steel dies for making it. We are informed by the mendacious craftsman that he took this opportunity of reading to the successor of Saint Peter

a lesson on overhastiness of temper; but he adds that he did not thereby forfeit the Pontiff's favour, since the second reverse to the medal was ordered to commemorate the construction by Antonio da San Gallo of the celebrated *Pozzo di San Patrizio* (St. Patrick's Well) at Orvieto.[1] During this year (1534) Pope Clement fell ill and Cellini touchingly relates how on taking his work to the Vatican for inspection and approval, the dying Pontiff called for his spectacles and lights, but was unable to do more than fumble the coins with his fingers.

The end came three days later and Cellini found it necessary to take immediate steps to provide for his own safety from his enemies and rivals. His evidently genuine grief at the death of his irascible patron, as contrasted with the callousness shown by every one else, is worthy of remark; and it strikes a kindly note in a character not otherwise conspicuous for sympathy or tenderness of feeling.

[1] The punches and dies mentioned here may still be seen in the Museo Nazionale at the Bargello in Florence. The size of the medal is thirty-nine millimetres.

CHAPTER IV

FROM THE DEATH OF POPE CLEMENT VII TO CELLINI'S FIRST VISIT TO FRANCE

1534–1537

GENERAL confusion and tumult pervaded the Eternal City during the interval between the Pope's demise and the election of his successor. As might have been expected, Cellini at once became entangled in a brawl with his enemy Pompeo, and, although he avers that the fatal blow was unintentional, he succeeded in stabbing him to the heart. Two Cardinals—Francesco Cornaro and Ippolito de' Medici—at once came forward with offers of sanctuary and protection; and to the great annoyance (we read) of the latter dignitary, Benvenuto took refuge with the former.

On the elevation of Alessandro Farnese to the Chair of St. Peter under the name of Paul III, the new Pontiff immediately inquired for Cellini, in order that he might strike coins for him similar to those executed for his predecessor; and on hearing that the craftsman was

in hiding,—in spite of various protests against such high-handed action,—His Holiness ordered a safe-conduct to be made out in his favour and commissioned him to design at once coins of the value of one *scudo*.[1]

Not satisfied, however, with this commission, Cellini was anxious to recover his post at the Mint.[2] But here the homicide stood in his way, and he was informed that he must take steps to secure a Pardon at the Feast of the Assumption (*St. Mary of August*) through the medium of one of the Roman Confraternities. This unfortunate delay gave his enemies, who had meantime secured the powerful aid of the Pope's bastard but idolized son, Pier Luigi Farnese, time to plan schemes to compass his destruction; and although, being warned in time, he found means to thwart their personal violence, to avoid arrest he took post under cover of night, and retired to his native city of Florence.

[1] These coins, of which examples are still extant (cf. PLON, *op. cit.*, Pl. XI, No. 6), bear on the obverse the Farnese Coat of Arms, with the inscription, PAVLVS III. PONTIFEX MAX, and upon the reverse a full (not a half as Cellini describes it in the "Autobiography") length figure of *St. Paul*, with the inscription S. PAVLVS. VAS. ELECTIONIS.

[2] According to GUASTI this post never really was taken from him.

A kindly reception was awarded him in Florence by the Duke Alessandro de' Medici; but soon after his arrival he was persuaded by the sculptor Niccolò di Raffaello (generally known by the nickname of *Tribolo*) to accompany him to Venice. Tribolo's object was to join Jacopo del Sansovino, who had settled in that city in the service of the Republic, and who had promised his former pupil employment under the same patrons. Duke Alessandro having generously provided Cellini with fifty gold *scudi* on the understanding that on his return he should enter his service, the two craftsmen set out for Ferrara. Here they narrowly escaped being drawn into a brawl with some of the Florentine exiles. These troublesome persons even pursued them next day, and made several attempts, both on the way and later in Venice itself, to provoke them to a breach of the peace, but without success.

Sansovino seems to have welcomed Cellini himself with considerable effusion and courtesy, but to the unfortunate Tribolo he was anything but cordial. This latter circumstance and some depreciatory remarks let fall during the meal which he offered the two strangers regarding the great Michelangelo, provoked Cellini into angry rejoinder; wherefore the

visit to Sansovino—the main object of the expedition to Venice—scarcely proved a success.

A few days later the two young men returned to Florence, Cellini on the way wreaking a characteristically vindictive revenge upon a Chioggia innkeeper, who had, according to his opinion, imposed upon him.

Directly they reached Florence Benvenuto proceeded to visit his kind patron, the Duke Alessandro, with the object of thanking him in person for his generous contribution towards the expenses of the Venetian trip. The Duke gave him a kindly welcome, and immediately commissioned him to strike some coins. The first of these was a coin of the value of forty *soldi*, which, we are told, was greatly admired. On the obverse of this coin is the head of the Duke with the inscription, ALEXANDER, M.R.P. FLOREN. DVX., and on the reverse, full-length figures of SS. Cosmo and Damiano, the Protectors of the House of Medici, with the legend, S. COSMVS. S. DAMIANVS. Cellini tells us in his "Treatise on the Art of the Goldsmith," that these coins were known as Duke Alessandro's "curls" (*ricci*), because the Duke was represented here with curly (*ricciuti*) hair. The diameter of the coin is twenty-nine millimetres.

SILVER PIECE

SILVER HALF JULIUS

SILVER JULIUS

GOLD SCUDO

Emboldened by this success Cellini next approached His Excellency upon the subject of a pension and a residence upon the Mint premises: to which requests the Duke made an evasive response, merely telling him to apply to the Master of the Mint for advances of money on a current account: an account which the autobiographer assures us he always contrived to regulate in his own favour.

Next followed dies for a coin known as a *julius*. It bears on the obverse the Ducal Arms with the inscription, ALEXANDER. MED. R. P. FLOREN. DVX.; and upon the reverse a figure of "St. John the Baptist seated and reading a book," with the words S. JOHANNES. BAPTISTA. Its diameter is twenty-six millimetres. After this came the half-*julius*, which though two millimetres less in diameter only differed from the *julius* inasmuch as the *head* alone of "St. John" is displayed upon it. Regarding this coin, we are informed by its author that it was the *first* attempt to represent a portrait "in full-face upon so thin a piece of silver."

Finally, dies were commissioned for a gold *scudo*, bearing the Medici Arms and the same inscription as above upon the obverse; but with a design consisting of a Greek Cross with four cherub heads fitted into the angles, and the

words, VIRTVS. EST. NOBIS. DEI, upon the reverse. The diameter of this coin is also twenty-six millimetres.

Duke Alessandro seemed so greatly pleased by these various coins that Benvenuto took courage to apply again for apartments at the Mint. The Prince promised to give orders at once to that effect; but immediately changed the subject to that of handsome firearms, and offered the artist the choice of an arquebuse from amongst those in his own collection.

A short time after this Cellini, when presenting designs for some trinkets which the Duke proposed to send to Naples as gifts for his bride, Margaret of Austria, once more applied for a pension and lodging, but yet again he was put off with a further commission; this time a portrait of Alessandro himself, similar to that of his relative, Pope Clement VII. The craftsman at once began to make a model for this work in wax, sending to Rome for one of his best pupils, a certain Pietro Pagolo del Pozzo,[1] to assist him. For the purpose of obtaining a proper likeness of his subject,

[1] A native of Monte Rotondo, near Rome. He was Cellini's assistant in Rome in 1535, at Ferrara in 1540, and finally took part in the casting of the "Perseus" in Florence in 1552. He died in the latter city on September 19th 1584.

Benvenuto was permitted free access to the Duke at any hour that he chose; and the "Autobiography" throws a remarkable sidelight upon the indolent and self-indulgent habits of this unfortunate Prince; who seems, however, at this time to have been most amiably disposed towards Cellini.

In the midst of all this the long-expected safe-conduct arrived, and Cellini prepared to hasten to Rome to obtain his Pardon at the Feast of the Assumption. A characteristic scene is described in the account of his farewell visit to Duke Alessandro. The Prince, who was ill in bed,—recovering from the effects of a debauch,—on hearing that his gifted subject was leaving Florence at once, endeavoured by promises of the desired pension and lodging to delay his departure. Cellini nevertheless stood firm in his determination, promising to return as soon as possible, and to make the completed medallion an even finer work than that executed for Pope Clement.[1] Meanwhile, he proposed that Lorenzo de' Medici,[2] who was,

[1] It may be as well to remind the reader that general report, with considerable show of reason, credited Giulio de' Medici (Pope Clement VII) with the parentage of Duke Alessandro.

[2] Commonly known as *Lorenzino*. Son of Pier Francesco de' Medici and Maria Soderini, he was born

as usual, present in the Duke's apartment, should devise an appropriate reverse for this work of art. The reply made by this man as related in the "Autobiography," that he "hoped to create something that would make the world marvel," certainly sounds prophetic in the light of subsequent events.

Cellini departed hastily without further ceremony, leaving his apprentice Pietro Pagolo to continue his coinage work during his absence; and when the Duke realized that he had already started upon his journey he sent a servant after him to Siena with a present of fifty gold ducats and a kindly message.

Almost directly after Cellini's arrival in Rome a violent attempt was made by the Bargello and his posse to arrest him in his own house, but the truculence of his resistance backed up by the Papal safe-conduct foiled their efforts.

He then proceeded to make the necessary preparations for the coming ceremony, and having succeeded in obtaining from the Pope, after some difficulty, a *motu-proprio* exempting him from the formal imprisonment that should have preceded the Pardon, on the proper day he

on March 22nd 1514. He murdered his cousin, Duke Alessandro, in 1537, and was himself assassinated in Venice in 1548. Cf. p. 49, *infra*.

duly took part in the procession and obtained a full remission for his homicide, through the medium of the Confraternity of the Butchers.[1]

The strain and excitement of all these events, however, produced a violent attack of fever, which brought Cellini to the brink of the grave. A report even circulated and travelled as far as Florence that he was actually dead. His friend Benedetto Varchi thereupon wrote a laudatory sonnet upon him, which his brother-in-law, hurrying to Rome to look after the inheritance, brought with him. The devoted nursing of his faithful friend and partner, Felice Guadagni, and the skill of the clever physician Messer Francesco da Norcia,[2] succeeded in quelling the fever and by slow degrees overcoming the ailment.

As soon as Benvenuto was sufficiently recovered to be moved he was conveyed in a chair to a country-seat belonging to Cardinal Cornaro on Monte Cavallo. Here after many days of suffering and weakness he regained

[1] A Confraternity founded at the beginning of the sixteenth century by Hadrian VI, but finally abolished in 1552 by Julius II on account of the disorders committed at this very Feast of the Assumption.

[2] Francesco Fusconi, physician to Popes Hadrian V, Clement VII, and Paul III. He was rich, highly esteemed, and a connoisseur in the Fine Arts.

enough strength to be borne in a species of horse-litter to Florence, where he received a warm welcome from his sister Liperata (Reparata) and her family, who had thought him dead. Here he found that Giorgio Vasari[1] and other ill-natured rivals had by their malicious slanders poisoned Duke Alessandro's mind against him. As soon as his weak health permitted, therefore, he had himself carried to a spot in the Ducal Palace where he was able to waylay the Prince; and having succeeded in stopping him he laid his case before him. The Duke gave him a not unkindly, but so far from an encouraging, reply, that, realizing the futility of further delay in Florence, Cellini shortly afterwards returned to Rome.

Here, however, he continued to work upon the Duke's medallion, and even sent messages to Lorenzo de' Medici to remind him of the promised reverse for it. He also spent much time in the pleasures of the chase; and it was whilst returning home one evening across the Campagna, accompanied by his faithful Felice and his dog Barucco, that when near Magliana,[2]

[1] The well-known artist and author of the "Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects"; *b.* at Arezzo 1512; *d.* in 1574.

[2] A Papal hunting-box on the banks of the Tiber, not far distant from Rome.

they suddenly observed a bright beam of light piercing the heavens in the direction of Florence. Benvenuto immediately interpreted this portent as a herald of disaster. Next day the news arrived of the treacherous murder of Duke Alessandro by the worthless Lorenzino; and later couriers brought tidings of the election of the youthful Cosimo to the vacant rulership of the Florentine State.

In December 1535 the Emperor Charles V, returning from his victories in the expedition against Tunis,[1] visited Rome, and the Pope, desirous of doing honour to his Imperial Majesty, sent for Cellini to consider with him the preparation of some handsome gift. Benvenuto immediately proposed to fashion a large and sumptuous standard crucifix of gold, proposing to utilize upon it the three small figures of the Cardinal Virtues originally designed for the chalice ordered by Pope Clement VII, but never finished.

His Holiness at first seemed pleased with the suggestion, and a certain sum was agreed upon between him and the craftsman for the accomplishment of the work. When, however,

[1] This visit preceded the murder of Duke Alessandro by at least a year, but for the purposes of his narrative Cellini anticipates events.

he applied for the money he found that a certain Messer Latino Giovenale de' Manetti, who had on a previous occasion endeavoured to thwart his plans, had succeeded in interposing objections, and had even tried to deprive him of the commission altogether. This latter wrong the Pope would not permit, but he changed the form of the gift to a cover for a "Book of Offices,"[1] to be given to the Empress, postponing the Emperor's present to a future date. This work of art was unfortunately not completed by the time that the Emperor arrived in Rome. Nevertheless Cellini was sent by His Holiness to exhibit the unfinished object to His Imperial Majesty, with an offer that he should follow the Emperor back to Germany in order to finish it there. Charles received the craftsman most cordially, and conversed with him about his work and other kindred matters; but expressed a wish that the book-cover should be completed in Rome. A sum of five hundred gold *scudi* was also directed to be given to Cellini; but the rapacity of the Papal courtiers (he declares) prevented

[1] This "Book of Offices," as well as the "Crucifix," is dealt with at considerable length by Cellini himself in Chapter VIII of his "Treatise on the Work of the Goldsmith."

this money ever reaching its rightful destination.

The Emperor had on this occasion presented to the Holy Father a magnificent diamond valued at 12,000 *scudi*. This stone had at once been handed to Cellini to be set in a ring. Not satisfied, however, with his skill, four celebrated jewellers were sent to discuss with him the various methods of employing foils in the setting of precious stones. Cellini successfully demonstrated to them the superiority of his own methods, and was mightily pleased at the satisfaction evinced thereat by His Holiness. It chanced also (he tells us) that when he went to present the ring to the Pope he intruded,—rather opportunely for the Pontiff,—upon an embarrassing interview between His Holiness and Alfonso d' Avalos, Marchese del Vasto, envoy from the Emperor, who was urging certain political action, which the cautious Paul III had no mind to undertake. But the "Book of Offices," on completion, was sent by the Pope to the Emperor in charge of the young Sforza Sforza, His Holiness' grandson, and His Imperial Majesty expressed himself greatly gratified and pleased with the beauty of the gift and with its workmanship.

Now Cellini ~~now~~ conceived a desire to visit the

French Court. Francis I, the reigning monarch, had some years before expressed to Luigi Alamanni a desire to make acquaintance with the famous goldsmith, but until now Benvenuto had not found an opportunity to go so far afield.

A quarrel and difficulties with his apprentice, Ascanio de' Mari,[1] temporarily delayed his preparations; but the intervention of a mutual friend and of the lad's own father set that difficulty straight.

Confiding his business in the Eternal City to the charge of the faithful and devoted Felice and taking with him the before-mentioned Ascanio de' Mari and a Perugian apprentice named Girolamo Pascucci,[2] Cellini, disheartened and discouraged by the constant cabals against him at the Papal Court, left Rome on April 2nd 1537, on his way to France.

[1] A native of Tagliacozzo. He finally settled in France in the employ of the French Court, and married there Costanza, a daughter of Girolamo di Andrea della Robbia. He appears to have eventually obtained a French title, for his name is found in documents with the style of *Seigneur de Beaulieu*.

[2] Subsequently one of Cellini's principal accusers in the matter of Pope Clement VII's jewels. Cf. pp. 57, 58, *infra*.

CHAPTER V

FROM CELLINI'S FIRST VISIT TO FRANCE TO HIS RELEASE FROM CASTEL SANT' ANGELO

1537–1539

HAVING thus arranged his affairs in Rome to his own satisfaction, Benvenuto and his two companions started on horseback for France. First, however, he visited Florence, and thence proceeded by Bologna and Venice to Padua. Here he was most enthusiastically welcomed by the celebrated scholar Pietro Bembo, who insisted on entertaining him and his attendants in his own house. He also commissioned the artist to make a medallion portrait of himself wearing (as Cellini remarks) "his beard short after the Venetian fashion." The craftsman succeeded in composing a satisfactory model in wax, but greatly disappointed his patron by informing him that the steel die would take so long to make that he would be unable to complete it until after his return from his French expedition. However, to gratify his courteous host he designed for the reverse a

representation of Bembo's emblem, "the horse Pegasus surrounded by a garland of myrtle."[1]

In order to continue his journey Cellini endeavoured to procure horses, but found that his host had forestalled him by impounding all the post-horses in the city, so as to force him to accept the three necessary for the journey as a gift from himself. After some demur he was constrained to do this, and he started from Padua, choosing the route through the Grisons, by the Albula and Bernina Passes, and by way of Wallenstadt and Wessen, to Lyons, on account of the war which was then raging in Piedmont between the French and the Imperial armies. Other travellers joined the party on the way, which seems to have been full of difficulties from bad weather and fatigue.

The description of their adventures is vastly entertaining, but it should be read in the "Autobiography" itself in order to be fully appreciated. Lachen, Zurich, Solothurn, Lausanne, and Geneva were passed in due course, and by that

[1] Various letters had passed in the year 1535–1536 between Cellini, Bembo, Varchi, and Ugo Martelli regarding a medal for Bembo. A good deal of discussion has risen amongst critics and authorities as to whether Cellini ever did make a medal for this dignitary, and the question remains at least in considerable doubt.

time the party had recovered their spirits so much that Cellini relates how, after four days' rest at Lyons, they set out for Paris "always singing and laughing." A band of robbers made an ineffectual attempt to assassinate them upon the way; but nevertheless they at last reached the French capital in safety.

On arriving in Paris Benvenuto after a brief rest betook himself to visit the artist Giovanbattista di Jacopo, better known as *il Rosso Fiorentino*, whom in former days he had known and befriended in Rome. Relying upon the gratitude of this man for past kindnesses he expected and hoped by his aid to obtain an introduction to the King, Francis I, in whose service the painter then was. The ungrateful Rosso was, however, by no means overjoyed at the sight of his former friend, and thinking that he had to deal with a penniless adventurer, was inclined to be very disagreeable. Finding, however, that the craftsman was far from ill-provided with cash, he changed his tone and wanted to entertain Cellini in his own house. But as he had already betrayed the fickleness of his disposition, Cellini declined such favours and thereby made an enemy of him. In spite, however, of Rosso's attempts at opposition, Benvenuto did contrive to obtain audience with

the King through Giuliano Buonaccorsi, an Italian official at the French Court. Francis received the craftsman very graciously, and, since he was about to start with his Court for Grenoble, desired that he would join his train, so that they might discuss together projected works of art upon the way. On this journey Cellini formed a close acquaintance with the young and brilliant Ippolito d' Este, subsequently created (in 1539) Cardinal of Ferrara. This noble recommended him to take up his quarters in an abbey at Lyons, of which he was the incumbent, until the King's return from Grenoble, whither he was going to join his army and conduct the war in person. But both the craftsman and his young assistant Ascanio de' Mari, having been attacked by fever, began to feel the pangs of nostalgia, and to pine for their native land. Ippolito d' Este thereupon gave to Benvenuto a commission for an ewer and basin, together with a sum of money to defray the cost thereof, to be made for him in Rome ; and the little band of master and servants started once more across the Alps back to Italy. This time they went by way of the Simplon, and again they experienced exciting adventures and hair-breadth escapes upon the road. Cellini duly reached Ferrara, whence,

having saluted the Duke, who received him most hospitably, he proceeded to the celebrated shrine of the Holy House at Loretto, and finally to Rome, where he found all his belongings in perfect order under the care of the faithful Felice Guadagni.

A larger shop, and an increased number of orders, including the ewer and basin above-mentioned, and jewels for Francesca Sforza di Santa Fiora, the bride of Girolamo Orsini, Lord of Bracciano, fully occupied the craftsman's time, and thus reconciled him to the silence of King Francis, who seemed to have forgotten him. Trouble, which was to lead to somewhat serious consequences, however, arose with his Perugian workman Girolamo Pascucci, whom he caused to be imprisoned for fraud and embezzlement.[1]

Amid all these many and varied commissions and occupations a letter suddenly arrived from Ippolito d' Este at the French Court. In this letter his patron informed Cellini that the King had been inquiring for him, and had desired that arrangements should be made for his return to France to be employed in his service, and that money should be provided for the expenses of the journey. This last direction would have

[1] Cf. pp. 52, *supra*, and 58, *infra*.

been carried out at once but for the ill-timed interference of Cardinal de' Gaddi, who stated that the journey expenses had already been sent and that the craftsman was even then on his way. This act of indiscreet interference caused a delay which proved most unfortunate for Cellini.

The rascally Girolamo Pascucci had, in the meantime, approached Pope Paul's natural son, Pier Luigi Farnese (recently created Duke of Castro), with an accusation against his former master of having stolen jewels from the late Pope Clement VII during the Siege of Rome. Early one morning, therefore, whilst taking a stroll along the Strada Julia, Cellini was forcibly arrested by the Bargello's posse, upon the very spot (he remarks) whereon four years previously he had slain his enemy, Pompeo de Capitaneis.

This imprisonment, we are informed, was the first that Cellini ever experienced; and he was thirty-seven years of age when it took place.

Pier Luigi Farnese having become aware how great was the supposed value to be placed upon the precious stones which Cellini was said to have stolen, begged his ever-indulgent father to make him a present of the right to recover them; and put severe pressure upon the

MEDAL MADE FOR CARDINAL BEMBO

public officials to recover this wholly imaginary treasure. After eight days' confinement the prisoner was brought up for examination before Messer Benedetto Conversini, the Procurator Fiscal and Messer Benedetto Valenti da Cagli. He gives a graphic account of the defence made before these judges, who certainly seem to have prepared their case against him uncommonly badly. Further examination of the Account Books of the Apostolic Treasury proved the justice of the craftsman's contention that he was innocent of this charge ; but the vindictive Pier Luigi was not prepared to face ignominious defeat, and Cellini was still detained in Castel Sant' Angelo. King Francis, hearing of his unjust imprisonment, wrote to his own envoy at the Papal Court, Monseigneur de Monluc, demanding his release. But so entirely was His Holiness under the control of his worthless son that evasive replies were given ; and the unlucky Benvenuto remained in confinement. The detailed accounts of his unwilling sojourn in this celebrated Roman fortress-prison (once the Mole of Hadrian) are full of interest. The episodes of the mad Castellan, Giorgio Ugolini, and his absurd hallucinations ; of the strange Friar of the Pallavicino family, imprisoned for heresy, who nearly involved Ben-

venuto in serious trouble, and occasioned him the loss of certain privileges; and of the difficulties with his hot-tempered shop-lad Ascanio de' Mari, are most entertaining. This latter youth finally assaulted two of his master's enemies, and wounded one of them so severely that he was obliged to flee for his life to his native village of Tagliacozzo.

One of the unfortunate Castellan's principal hallucinations was that he was a bat, and would presently be able to fly, so that he was wont upon many occasions to discuss with Cellini the possibilities of flying. One day Benvenuto, more in jest than in earnest, threatened that he, too, would spread his wings and fly away. This alarmed the Castellan so much that he redoubled his vigilance over his captive. Nevertheless, from that time the craftsman commenced to make plans for an escape. The details of this escape are too long to be described in full here, but the whole story is told with great dramatic force in the "Autobiography." It is sufficient to say that Cellini did manage to break his prison, to descend towers, scale walls and negotiate battlements with remarkable success; but, unfortunately miscalculating the height of the last of the walls, he fell heavily, injuring his head and breaking his right leg

just above the ankle. The first of these injuries stunned him for a space, but on recovering his senses he succeeded in crawling to the gates of the city. Here he had some trouble to defend himself from the attacks of wandering mastiffs. Then crawling past the church of Sta. Maria della Traspontina in the direction of Saint Peter's, he met a water-carrier, whom he persuaded for a gold *scudo* to carry him to the top of the steps of that great cathedral and leave him there. Thence it was his intention to struggle as far as the house of Margaret of Austria, widow of his former patron, Duke Alessandro de' Medici (now the wife of the Pope's nephew, Ottavio Farnese), and to claim her protection. He was, however, seen and recognized by one of the servants of Cardinal Francesco Cornaro, who had been also one of his patrons. This man ran to his master with the astounding news that the famous goldsmith, who was supposed to be a prisoner in the Castello, had escaped, and was even then crawling along the steps of Saint Peter's. The Cardinal at once ordered his servants to carry the wounded Cellini to his own apartment and sent for a surgeon to set his injured leg. The surgeon expressed considerable nervousness lest his attentions to an

escaped prisoner should bring down upon him the wrath of the Pope; but the Cardinal, having given Benvenuto the shelter of his own apartments, went off at once to beg the Pope to grant his permanent release.

Cellini's escape from prison naturally caused great excitement in Rome, and the mad Castellan implored his attendants to let him also fly from the keep after a prisoner, who he was convinced had escaped by means of wings.

Cardinal Cornaro and Messer Ruberto Pucci both hastened to the Palace to intercede with the Pope for Cellini's liberty, but were unable to obtain from him any definite promise. At first no attempt was made to remove him from the place where he had taken refuge; and thither flocked all the principal personages in Rome to hear all about his wonderful escape. The Castellan, meantime, implored the Pope to restore to him his prisoner, and His Holiness sent Messer Benedetto Conversini to learn from his own lips the details of Cellini's exploit, and whether he had had any assistance in accomplishing it: recalling how he himself had once escaped in a basket from Castel Sant' Angelo at that self-same spot. Conversini, under promise of a full pardon, succeeded in persuading Cellini to describe all the

methods that he had employed in effecting his purpose ; and, expressing the greatest astonishment, returned to repeat what he had heard to His Holiness. The Pope, greatly surprised at Benvenuto's resourcefulness and ingenuity, seems at first to have been inclined to set him free altogether ; but once more Pier Luigi Farnese interposed with another maliciously perverted piece of gossip : thus again arousing the Pontiff's anger against the unfortunate goldsmith.

Two days later, therefore, when Cardinal Cornaro came to ask a favour on behalf of one of his friends, the Pope insisted that, in return for this favour, Cellini should be handed over to him. The Cardinal at first resisted this demand, but on the Pope's assuring him that Benvenuto should not be ill-treated he reluctantly consented.

On hearing this disturbing news Cellini endeavoured to persuade the friend for whom Cardinal Cornaro was begging this favour, a certain Messer Andrea Centano, to connive at his escape from Rome rolled up in a mattress. But this faint-hearted personage betrayed the proposal, and the Cardinal was forced to carry out his compact with the Pope. He enjoined Cellini, however, who now gave himself up for

lost, not to touch any of the food supplied from the Papal kitchens, promising to keep him supplied from his own. Benvenuto was therefore transported to a suite of rooms in the Pope's private gardens, where he continued to receive visitors as he had done at Cardinal Cornaro's palace. Paul III, meanwhile, had allowed it to be generally understood that this kind of detention was merely temporary, and that in a short time Cellini would not only be released, but would receive from him a lucrative appointment. This report discouraged Benvenuto's friends from making any effort to obtain his release, or to connive at his escape. We read of his bitter disappointment at the refusal of a young Greek friend of his to aid him to that end. In despair, therefore, he resigned himself to his fate. On the evening of the Feast of Corpus Domini 1539 he entertained (he tells us) a party of friends at supper on food provided from the Cardinal's kitchen, and with them he made good cheer. After they had departed he retired to rest. His dog, however, who was accustomed to sleep under his bed, howled so fearfully all night that he three times summoned his servants to remove the animal from his apartment. This faithful animal seems to have had some presentiment

of evil, for at the fourth hour of the night there arrived the Bargello with a strong guard to arrest his master. The dog sprang at them so furiously that at first they were terrified, supposing him to be mad. The Bargello himself, however, soon recovered his presence of mind, directed his attendants to beat off the dog, and binding Cellini upon a chair carried him away to the Torre del Nona. Here he was given a small piece of mattress to lie upon, and a gaoler was left in charge of him, whose condolences were hardly calculated to encourage in him much hope of liberty or even of life. Giving himself up for lost, the unfortunate Benvenuto now turned to prayers and religious meditation, mingled with that curious belief in the influence of the planets upon human life so characteristic of the late Renaissance. By this means, however, he derived some mental composure and succeeded in getting some sleep. At dawn his gaoler woke him with the tidings that a visitor had come with news not wholly pleasing to him. This visitor proved to be Messer Benedetto Valenti da Cagli, who had come to condemn him to death; but who (according to the "Autobiography") was so impressed by the prisoner's demeanour, that he found himself unable to

perform his unpleasant task. Telling the gaoler to lock up his prisoner again safely, he departed to the house of Pier Luigi Farnese and sought an interview with Girolama Orsini, wife to that tyrannical personage, whom he found in company with the Duchess Margaret of Austria. These two noble ladies expressed the deepest sympathy with the prisoner, and Girolama at once went to her father-in-law, and throwing herself upon her knees before him, in the presence of several of the Cardinals, made a strong intercession on Cellini's behalf. She seems to have saved him from death, but she was unable to procure his release, and later on in the day he was carefully transported, on the same chair upon which he had been brought to the Torre del Nona, back once more to Castel Sant' Angelo.

As soon as the prisoner had arrived at an inner courtyard high up in the keep of the fortress, the crazy Castellan came to gloat over him; and in order to subdue his haughty spirit commanded him to be housed in a dark chamber below a garden, half full of water and swarming with noxious reptiles. Here, without food and with nothing but a wretched hempen pallet to repose upon, Cellini was securely locked in until the nineteenth hour of the next day. When

food was eventually brought he begged his gaolers to procure him some books to read to pass away the time; and the next day, by permission of the Castellan, a copy of the Bible in the vernacular and the "Chronicles" of Villani were given to him. He asked for other works, but was curtly informed that these two were more than sufficient. In the course of three days the damp of his cell completely saturated the wretched pallet upon which he lay, and unable to move on account of his broken leg, his physical discomfort became almost intolerable. Light only reached his dungeon in a reflected form for a short hour and a half each day, so that he was nearly always in the dark. These wretched conditions turned his thoughts to religion, and during the short space of time each day that he was able to see, he read the whole Bible through from beginning to end and derived much spiritual comfort therefrom. He tells us that on one occasion his sufferings proved so great that he made a serious attempt at suicide, but was miraculously preserved from his own rashness. The result, however, of this attempt was to throw him into a swoon, in which he was discovered by his gaolers; who, imagining that he was dead, fetched priests to perform his funeral

rites. This event drew attention to the condition of his mattress, and upon his revival from unconsciousness it was removed and another substituted.

This attempt upon his own life affected his mind so much that he began to see visions. Setting his ingenuity to work, he fashioned a paste out of rotten brick to serve for ink, and contrived a pen out of a splinter of wood. With these primitive materials he began to write on the fly-leaves of his Bible poems and poetical dialogues. His eyes becoming more accustomed to the gloom of his cell he was able to prolong his hours of reading, and, in spite of all the horrible physical discomforts that he describes so graphically, he appears to have become more resigned, passing much time in prayers and singing of psalms. He began also a long poem which he styles a *Capitolo*,[1] in praise of his prison.

The wretched Castellan, whose illness was increasing, became jealous of the reports carried to him of Cellini's apparent cheerfulness, and on the first day of August he angrily ordered him to be taken to a more subterranean cavern, wherein had perished of hunger the

[1] This long poem he dedicated to his friend Luca Martini.

Dominican friar, Fra Benedetto Tiezzi, of Foiano. When the Captain of the guard, Alessandro Monaldi, came to execute this order he found the prisoner on his knees before some rough cartoons, which he had drawn himself in charcoal, of "God the Father surrounded by angels," and of "Christ rising victorious from the Grave."

During this time Cellini's broken leg had healed and become quite sound again. For this reason apparently a strong guard was sent to fetch him and he was somewhat roughly handled in the transit. He seems to have feared that this time he was doomed to perish in that awful oubliette, which he styles *Sammalò*;[1] and, considering himself fortunate in finding that his fate was no worse than to be consigned to Fra Benedetto's dungeon-cell, he proceeded once more to sing psalms of thankfulness. He was not, however, left long in this hole, for two days later he was taken back to his former prison.

It is not easy to comprehend how Cellini became aware of all that was passing on his account through the minds and over the tongues

[1] The *Robur Tullianum* of the Renaissance; a gloomy dungeon into which unhappy prisoners were lowered from above by a rope.

of the Pope, of Pier Luigi Farnese, and of the Castellan; and it may be surmised that much of that part of his story is pure romantic imagination. Nevertheless, it seems likely that his enemies were extremely vindictive, and that the unhappy Castellan himself, ill as he was, vacillated considerably in his behaviour towards the unfortunate craftsman. Cellini tells us that, after issuing most cruel and brutal orders, he immediately relented and directed that upon his death,—which he felt was rapidly approaching,—his prisoner should be set at liberty.

He further informs us that his one great desire now was that once more before he died he might be permitted to see the sun; and he registered a vow that, if ever he succeeded in leaving his prison, he would make a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre. This vow (he informs us) he made upon the second day of October 1539. The following morning, whilst performing his devotions, he was (he tells us) vouchsafed a vision, which is best described in his own words :[1]

"—after the manner of a whirlwind I was seized by that invisible being and carried away,

[1] The influence of Cellini's Bible studies is plainly visible in this account of his visions. It has been

and was taken into a chamber, where that invisible (friend) of mine then visibly showed himself to me in human form, after the fashion of a youth with the down upon his cheek; with a most marvellous countenance, handsome, but austere, not wanton; and he pointed into that chamber, saying to me, 'This so great a concourse of men that you see are all those who up to this time have been born, and since have died.'[1] Wherefore I asked him for what reason he had brought me thither; he said to me, 'Come forward with me and you shall soon see.' I found in my hand a poniard and upon me a coat of mail; and thus he led me through that great chamber pointing them out to me, how in infinite thousands they were walking now in one direction and now in another. Leading me forward, he went out before me through a little postern into a place resembling a narrow street; and when he drew me after him into the said street, at my issuing from

pointed out by one of his critics that he would seem to wish himself to be taken for a new Ezekiel; but it seems pretty clear that the confinement and discomforts of his prison had made him light-headed.

[1] This long extract is, and others quoted further on are, drawn from the present writer's own translation of the "Autobiography," by kind permission of the publishers, Messrs. George Bell and Sons, 1910.

that chamber I found myself unarmed, and I was in a white shirt with nothing upon my head, and I was upon the right hand of my said companion. When I saw myself after this fashion, I marvelled, because I did not recognize that street; and having raised my eyes I saw that the brightness of the sun was striking upon a portion of the wall, as if upon the façade of a house, above my head. Thereupon I said, 'Oh my friend! How must I act, that I may be able to mount up so that I may see the very sphere of the sun?' He showed me some great stairs that were there upon my right hand, and he said to me, 'Go up there by yourself.' I going a short distance from him, mounted backwards up several of those stairs and I began little by little to discover the proximity of the sun. I hastened to climb on; and so I went on according to that said manner until I discovered the whole sphere of the sun. And since the strength of his rays, according to their wont, made me close my eyes, when I saw my mistake, I opened my eyes, and gazing fixedly at the sun, I said: 'Oh! my sun! That I have longed for so much. I do not want ever to see anything else, even if your rays blind me.' Thus I remained with eyes firmly fixed upon him; and as I

stayed a little while in this way, I saw of a sudden all that force of those great rays cast itself upon the left side of the said sun; and the sun remaining clear without his rays, I gazed upon him with greatest pleasure; and it seemed to me a marvellous thing that those rays should be taken away in that fashion. I stood considering what Divine Grace had this been, that I had received that morning from God, and I said in a loud voice, 'Oh! wonderful is Thy Power! Oh! glorious Thy Virtue! How much greater favour art Thou showing to me than that which I looked for!' This sun without his rays seemed to me neither more nor less than a bath of purest molten gold. Whilst I was considering this great thing I saw the centre of the said sun begin to swell, and the shape of this swelling to increase, and on a sudden there appeared a *Christ upon the Cross* of the same matter as was the sun; and He was of such fair grace in His most benign aspect as the human mind could not imagine a thousandth part; and whilst I was gazing upon such a thing, I cried loudly, 'Miracles! Miracles! Oh! God! Oh! Thy Clemency! Oh! Thy Infinite Virtue! Of what hast Thou made me worthy this morning!' And whilst I was gazing and was saying these words, this

'Christ' moved towards that part (of the sun) whither his rays were gone, and in the midst of the sun there was again a swelling such as occurred before; and the swelling having increased, it immediately converted itself into the form of a most beautiful 'Madonna,' who was displayed as it were seated after a very lofty fashion, with her said Son in her arms in a most charming attitude as though smiling; she was set between two angels, one on either side, more beautiful than the imagination can attain to. I saw besides in the same sun, on the right hand, a figure clad after the fashion of a priest; this (figure) turned its back to me, and kept its countenance turned towards that 'Madonna' and that 'Christ.' All these things I saw truly, clearly, and distinctly, and I continually gave thanks to the glory of God with a very loud voice. When this marvellous sight had been before my eyes for a little more than an eighth of an hour, it departed from me; and I was borne back into that den of mine. I immediately began to cry out loudly, saying in a loud voice, 'The Power of God has made me worthy to be shown all His Glory, which has perhaps never been seen by any other mortal eye; whereat by this I know that I am free and happy and in favour with God; and

you scoundrels shall remain scoundrels, unhappy and in God's displeasure. Know that I am very sure that the Day of All Saints,[1] which was that day upon which I came into the world in the year one thousand five hundred precisely[2]—the first day of November, the night following at four of the clock,—on that day which is approaching you will be compelled to take me out of this gloomy prison; and you will not be able to do any less thing, for I have seen it with my own eyes, and upon that throne of God (Himself). That priest who was turned toward God and who showed his back to me, that was Saint Peter (himself), who was pleading for me, ashamed that in his house they should inflict upon Christians such cruel wrongs. Therefore tell it to whom you like, that no one has the power to do me any more harm; and tell that lord who keeps me here, that if he give me either wax or paper, and the means whereby I can express this Glory of God which He has displayed to me, I will

[1] It is perhaps worth reminding the reader how this particular festival affected another celebrated prisoner, namely, Casanova, when imprisoned by order of the Inquisition in the Venetian prison of the *Piombi*.

[2] Cf. p. 3, *supra*.

most assuredly make clear to him that thing of which perhaps he stands in doubt."

The Castellan, whose death was approaching, seems to have suffered continual qualms of conscience on account of Cellini, and made several fruitless applications to the Pope to permit the prisoner's release. Being unable to obtain this, he sent him writing materials, with which Benvenuto proceeded to compose a sonnet addressed to the dying man. Ugolini, touched by this courtesy, would gladly have let his prisoner go at once, but fearing the Pope's anger he salved his conscience by providing him with lights and a variety of minor comforts. It is to be observed that in his railings Cellini lays the blame for his imprisonment upon the Pope and upon the infamous Pier Luigi Farnese alternately.

One day the Castellan's nephew brought Cellini some precious stones to set, an act which the unfortunate goldsmith took to be a sign of approaching freedom. His hopes, alas! were blighted by the information that he must not count upon such a prospect. Nevertheless, on his pointing out that he could not possibly practise his profession by the feeble light that visited his present cell, he was removed to the

apartments which he had occupied during his first imprisonment in 1538. A few days later the unhappy Castellan, who had been given to understand that his prisoner had been already set at liberty, expired, and his brother, Antonio Ugolini, succeeded to his post. An attempt was now made to poison Cellini by mixing powdered diamond in his food, but the poverty of the goldsmith,[1] tempted by the value of the stone consigned to him to break up, was the means of saving the artist's life. The man substituted a less valuable, and at the same time more friable, stone,[2] and chance revealed the presence of foreign particles in the food. Cellini acquits the new Castellan of complicity in this attempt upon his life, but he begged Monsignor Giovan Girolamo de' Rossi, Bishop of Pavia,[3] who was also a prisoner in

[1] Leone Leoni. Cellini describes him as of "Arezzo"; but this is somewhat doubtful, for according to some authorities he was a native of Menaggio. He was, perhaps, either the son of an Aretine, who migrated north, or had been brought up at Arezzo. He became latterly a goldsmith and medallist of some brilliance, and died at Milan in 1590. Though never particularly wealthy, Cellini exaggerates when describing him in the "Autobiography" as "very poor."

[2] *Cetrina*, i.e. a greenish beryl, was, we are told, the stone used.

[3] This dignitary is frequently alluded to later on

the Castello at this time, to allow him a portion of the supply of victuals which came in daily from outside for that prelate's consumption.

Meantime, Monseigneur de Monluc was still pressing on behalf of his Royal Master for Cellini's release; and at length Ippolito d' Este himself came to Rome to receive his Cardinal's hat. This prelate took an early opportunity of visiting Paul III, and remained to sup with His Holiness. Having contrived to get the Pontiff into a good temper with chat and gossip from the French Court: and the Pope being further primed up with the dainties and wines set before him: the newly-created Cardinal at last succeeded in extracting from His Holiness a promise to set Cellini at liberty. The Pope, thus caught almost unawares in a moment of expansiveness, said, with a laugh, "I wish you to take him to your house at once." Ippolito d' Este, overjoyed, wasted no time in acting upon the above permission, and though it was still night, Cellini, in spite of the extortionate demands of Antonio Ugolini, was removed from Castel Sant' Angelo and lodged in safety in His Eminence's own apartments.

in the "Autobiography," and at one time was Cellini's guest at the Château of Petit Nesle. Cf. p. 105, *infra*.

This long and painful imprisonment, however, left so great a mark on Cellini's mind and imagination, that he fancied himself chosen by God for special favour; and he claimed that from that time a divine halo rested always upon his head.

CHAPTER VI

FROM CELLINI'S RELEASE FROM CASTEL SANT' ANGELO TO THE END OF HIS SECOND VISIT TO FRANCE

1539–1545

IN order fully to recover his strength after his long imprisonment, Cellini presently decided to pay a visit to Tagliacozzo to seek out his former pupil, Ascanio de' Mari. He found the young man in the bosom of a large family, who gave him a warm welcome. On his return to Rome two days later he took Ascanio with him, and there they both set to work to complete the basin and ewer for the Cardinal of Ferrara. The still incomplete basin Cellini managed to recover, but the ewer had been stolen with a number of other things during his imprisonment, and therefore had to be commenced again. The Cardinal himself, accompanied by Messer Luigi Alamanni and Messer Gabbriello Cesano, came every day to pass some hours in chatting with the craftsman and in watching him at his work. Moreover,

SEAL OF CARDINAL IPPOLITO D'ESTE

His Eminence kept piling on more commissions.

One of these was for a pontifical seal. Here is Cellini's own description of this work of art:

"It was in size as large as the hand of a lad of twelve years of age; and on the same seal I cut out two small scenes; of which one was when 'St. John was preaching in the desert,' the other when 'Sant' Ambruogio was discomfiting those Arians,'[1] represented mounted upon a horse with a whip in his hand, with so much fire and fine drawing, and so cleanly finished, that every one said that I had surpassed the great Lautizio, who made this trade his sole one; and the Cardinal, out of personal pride, used to compare it with the other seals of the Cardinals of Rome, which were nearly all the workmanship of the above-mentioned Lautizio."

This same somewhat ostentatious patron also desired a model made for a salt-cellar;[2] and

[1] There is a fuller description of this seal in Chapter XIII of the "Treatise on the Work of the Goldsmith." And cf. PLON, *op. cit.*, Pl. X, n. 1, and p. 191. The seal is oval in form, and beneath the scenes are displayed the Arms of the Cardinal, and the Lilies of France. Around the whole is the following inscription: HIPPOLYTVS ESTEN. S. MARIÆ IN AQVIRO DIACONVS CAR, FERRARIEN.

[2] This celebrated Salt-Cellar is one of the most

since he wanted it to be something out of the common he consulted his two friends, Luigi Alamanni and Gabbriello Cesano, on the question of a design. Unable to choose between them he turned to Cellini and invited his opinion, since he was the person who was to execute the work. Benvenuto at once firmly but definitely pointed out that if he was to undertake the order it must be carried out according to his own designs and not to those of any one else. Alamanni laughed pleasantly at this, but Cesano, on the other hand, was greatly offended. Alamanni suggested a group of "Venus and Cupid"; Cesano, "Amphitrite with Sea Deities and Monsters," "very beautiful in description, but not in execution."

Cellini's proposed design, of which he made a model at this time (too costly for the Cardinal d' Este, but eventually carried out for Francis I), is one of the most sumptuous examples of his work still existing. It is described by him as follows:

"I made an oval shape of the size of well over half a *braccia*—almost two-thirds—and

highly prized works of art in the Imperial Treasury at Vienna. Cellini describes it again with but slight variation in detail after its execution for King Francis. Cf. p. 96, *infra*.

upon the said shape, as though to display the Sea embracing the Earth, I made two figures considerably more than a palm in height, which were seated with their legs entwined one with another, just as one sees certain long arms of the sea which run into the land; and in the hand of the male figure, the sea, I placed a very richly decorated ship: in this same ship much salt could be well and conveniently placed; beneath the said (figure) I had arranged those four sea-horses; in the right hand of the said Sea I had placed his trident. The Earth I had made a woman of such beauteous form as I could and knew how, handsome and graceful; and in the hand of the said figure I had placed a temple rich and decorated, placed upon the ground, and she leant upon it with the said hand; this I had made to hold the pepper. In the other hand I placed a horn of plenty, adorned with all the beauties that I possibly knew. Beneath this goddess and in that portion that I showed to be (intended for) the Earth, I had arranged all the most beautiful animals that the Earth produces. Beneath the portion of the Sea I had represented all the handsome kinds of fishes and little snails, that could be included within that small space: in the width of the

remainder of the oval I devised many very rich ornaments."

The Cardinal and his two friends came in due course to see this model; and at once Gabbriello Cesano began to comment on the impossibility of carrying out so costly, so elaborate, and so ambitious a piece of work during the lifetime of any one man. Luigi Alamanni, on the other hand, defended Cellini to the best of his power. Cardinal d' Este, realizing that the work was in any case too sumptuous for himself, said that unless it were made for King Francis it could not be made for any one else. He then told Cellini to make instant preparation to leave Rome on the way to Paris.

When all was ready for their departure His Eminence presented Cellini with a fine horse, named *Tornon*, after the original giver, Cardinal François de Tournon; and he also provided horses for Ascanio and Pagolo, who were to accompany their master. We are informed that the Cardinal's train was divided into two portions: the smaller body, with which His Eminence himself travelled, going by way of Loretto to Ferrara, whilst the larger took the more direct route by Siena and Florence. The

THE SALT CELLAR OF FRANCIS I

Imperial Treasury, Vienna

Cardinal invited Cellini to join his own party, as being the safer method of travelling to escape his enemies ; but family affection—a desire to see his sister in Florence, and to visit some cousins, who were nuns in a convent at Viterbo —induced him to decline his patron's thoughtful offer. Leaving Rome on Monday in Holy Week with two attendants only, Cellini narrowly escaped assassination at Monteruosi ; owing his salvation to the Cardinal's party, who were following behind, and came up in the nick of time. He reached Viterbo in safety, visited his cousins, and accompanied by a certain Cherubino Sforzani, a master-clockmaker and a member of the Papal Household, passed on towards Siena. A quarrel with the postmaster and his sons at the gate of that city led to a skirmish, in which the postmaster himself was killed outright, whilst Pagolo and a Milanese, who was also of the party, were injured. The account of this episode, as told in the " Autobiography," is most vivid and not without considerable touches of humour, although it instances the brutality of the writer's nature. Thence to Florence, where, after four days' rest in order that Pagolo might recover from his wound, the party moved on to Ferrara, arriving there before the Cardinal.

A good deal to Cellini's chagrin he found that the Cardinal had arranged to travel on himself towards France without him; and although provided with excellent accommodation in the Palace of Belfiore, with plenty of commissions and the conveniences for carrying them out, he experienced considerable annoyance and disappointment. Several times he contemplated breaking away altogether, but recollection of the fact that it was to Ippolito d' Este that he owed his liberty from his awful imprisonment restrained him, and he essayed to preserve his soul in patience until he should be sent for to France.

He therefore turned his attention to the completion of the ewer and basin. The air, however, of the place wherein he and his assistants were lodged at first proved most unwholesome, and as summer came on they all fell ill: a circumstance which led to their seeking diversion in outdoor exercise, and especially in peacock-shooting. This sport not only cheered their spirits, but also filled their larder to their great satisfaction.

The Duke of Ferrara (Ercole II) now seems to have taken an interest in his brother's protégé; and he desired a portrait of himself, which Benvenuto at once proceeded to execute

CAST OF MEDAL FOR ERCOLE II D'ESTE, DUKE OF FERRARA

In the Goethe Museum, Weimar

upon a round tablet of black stone. This work, we read, was completed in eight days, and the Duke was so pleased with it that he requested that a reverse should be made, which Cellini at once set to work to carry out to his own and to the Duke's great satisfaction.

This reverse is described as follows: "A woman as Peace with a torch in her hand, with which she was setting light to a trophy of arms: I made this said woman in an attitude of joy, clad in very thin garments; of most beauteous grace; and beneath her feet I represented Fury in despair and mourning, and bound with many chains." Round this reverse ran the words: *Pretiosa in cõspettu domini* ("Right dear in the sight of the Lord"); an ironical allusion to the price recently paid by the Duke to Paul III in order to obtain an inglorious peace.[1]

At this juncture urgent letters came from the Cardinal desiring that Cellini should make his preparations so as to be in readiness to

[1] This medal, the description of which recalls that made for Clement VII (cf. pp. 36, 37, *supra*), was probably never struck in bronze, and all trace of it even was supposed to be lost. Recently, however, a plaster cast from the wax model was found by the late Professor Cornelius von Fabriczy in the Goethe Museum at Weimar.

start for France at a moment's notice. This he was proceeding to do when he received a peremptory command from the Cardinal's agent in Ferrara, a noble named Alberto Bendidio, ordering him in his employer's name to take post at once to join the French Court. He was further informed that King Francis had been inquiring about him, being under the impression that he was even then on the way; and that the Cardinal had put forward as an excuse that the artist was unwell, and was recruiting his health at one of His Eminence's abbeys at Lyons. The abruptness of the order and the haughty tone of the person who gave it greatly enraged Cellini, who, on account of a long and tedious illness, was especially irritable. He pointed out that he was not in the habit of being ordered about in that fashion, but must be provided with the means and the conveniences for accomplishing the journey in comfort. His firmness upon this point in the end had the desired effect, and he was duly furnished with all that he required. Before his departure, however, he had another passage of arms with the Duke's chamberlain, who tried to pass off upon him a ring of inferior value as recompense from His Excellency. Here, again, he got the better of his opponent,

although his actual reward was inferior to both the Duke's intention and the artist's merits.

Cellini was now in readiness to depart; and the famous ewer and basin had been duly packed up, when there came upon the scene another Ferrarese noble, by name Alfonso de' Trotti,[1] also a connoisseur of the Fine Arts. Alberto Bendidio by chance alluded to these works of art, and expressed regret that his friend had come too late to see them. The old noble made light of this by saying that he never wished to see any more vases, since for once in his life he had seen an antique silver vase so perfect that human imagination could not conceive anything more exquisitely beautiful. He further related the history of this vase, which was involved in much mysterious circumlocution. Finally, he sent to his own house for a treasured model in white clay of this paragon, and uncovered it with great pomp. When Cellini saw it he immediately recognized it as one of the two vases made by himself in Rome in 1524, for Giacomo da Carpi, the quack-doctor.[2] This aroused in Alfonso de' Trotti an irrepressible desire to see the much-talked-of

[1] A faithful and much-trusted minister of Duke Alfonso I of Ferrara.

[2] Cf. p. 16, *supra*.

ewer and basin ; and after considerable pressure Cellini, although he refused to exhibit them himself, permitted Ascanio and Pagolo to unpack and show them to the astonished Ferrarese.

Benvenuto evidently took a violent dislike to Ferrara and all that was in it. He records with pleasure the fact that he enjoyed there the acquaintanceship of Cardinal Salviati and of the Cardinal of Ravenna ; and that he met some clever musicians. He recalls again the excellence of the young peacocks, but his strictures regarding the miserliness and greed of the Ferrarese people are most severe.

Avoiding Milan and travelling by way of Mont Cenis he duly reached Lyons, where he lodged in one of the Cardinal's abbeys whilst he awaited the arrival of the pack-mule which bore the famous ewer and basin. Thence, placing all their belongings upon a cart, the little party set out towards Paris. Minor and unimportant accidents befell them upon the way ; but in due course they reached Fontainebleau, where the Court then was.

The Cardinal immediately provided the travellers with a lodging : and as soon as their baggage had arrived and they were comfortably settled, informed the King, who thereupon expressed a wish to see Cellini. The craftsman

at once obeyed the King's behest, and presented himself before His Majesty with the Cardinal's ewer and basin. Francis received him most graciously, and Benvenuto thanked His Majesty for having interceded to procure his release, and for his many acts of kindness. The ewer and basin were offered for inspection and greatly praised. The King then directed Cellini to enjoy himself thoroughly for the present; and meantime he would think over certain commissions that he proposed to entrust to him.

Splendid idleness did not, however, please so energetic a man; and he soon grew weary of herding with the train of courtiers and others who followed the King in such numbers from place to place. He therefore begged his friend the Cardinal to intercede with the King, that he might be sent to Paris and allowed to get to work. His Eminence replied that it would be better policy to get the King to propose this of his own accord; and to this end he advised Cellini to contrive to bring himself before the monarch's notice whilst he was at table. This advice provided the desired opportunity, of which the Cardinal immediately availed himself. Nevertheless, difficulties arose between the artist and his patron as to the

amount of allowance to be provided by the King: and the contention became so sharp that Cellini actually made arrangements to dismiss his two assistants, and started himself with as little baggage as possible to fulfil his vow to visit the Holy Sepulchre.[1] Couriers, however, from the Court, accompanied by Ascanio de' Mari, were sent after him and, partly by force, partly by persuasion, he was induced to return to Fontainebleau.

On his repairing to the Royal apartments the Cardinal of Ferrara met him and informed him that the King had decided to make him the same allowance as had been formerly made to Leonardo da Vinci; that is to say, seven hundred *scudi per annum*, with additional payment for each work of art executed. He added that His Majesty had further directed that a sum of five hundred *scudi* should be given to him at once; an act of generosity which mightily pleased the ambitious Benvenuto.

On going to thank the King next day Francis desired Cellini to prepare at once to make him twelve life-size silver statues of the principal "Gods of Olympus," to serve as candelabra at State banquets. His Majesty next inquired of his comptroller whether he had paid the five

[1] Cf. p. 70, *supra*.

hundred *scudi* promised by the Cardinal; and was greatly annoyed to find that His Eminence had said nothing to him about it. Francis then turned to Cellini and told him to go at once to Paris, and seek out a residence suitable for his work.

Cellini immediately proceeded to Paris, and, setting to work in an apartment lent to him by the Cardinal of Ferrara, in a short time had fashioned four small wax models—"Jove," "Juno," "Apollo," and "Vulcan." Presently the King himself arrived in the capital, and Cellini, accompanied by his two workmen Ascanio and Pagolo, at once appeared before him with these models. Francis seemed greatly pleased with the figures, and directed Benvenuto to begin with the "Jove" in silver, of the size proposed. Cellini took this opportunity of presenting his workmen to His Majesty, and of asking his permission to retain them with him, instead of engaging French assistants. The King consented to this request and agreed upon a suitable sum for their maintenance. The artist next informed His Majesty that he had found a suitable place wherein to set up his workshops, namely, the ancient Château of Le Petit Nesle, which happened to be the King's own private property. This Château had, how-

ever, been previously bestowed upon the Provost of Paris, although that official was making no usé of it. Francis at once acquiesced, and ordered his lieutenant to lodge the artist there forthwith. The lieutenant, foreseeing trouble ahead, hesitated ; but since the King insisted, he succeeded in forcibly placing Cellini in possession, although the craftsman himself for a long time afterwards experienced constant difficulty in maintaining it. In the "Autobiography" we find a long and very vivid account of all the efforts made by the Provost and his various friends and creatures to dislodge Benvenuto, or to interfere with his peaceful enjoyment of this Château ; but since we are here concerned only with his Art, attention must be kept to that point only.

The creation of the figures of the *Gods* went on apace. Three of them, "Jove," "Vulcan," and "Mars," were fashioned in clay the size of life as proposed ; and the much-talked-of ewer and basin were at last finished. With regard to these latter objects the artist and his whilom patron, the Cardinal, finally fell out. His Eminence, on receiving the ewer and basin from Cellini, presented them as a gift from himself to the King, who responded by conferring upon the giver another abbey worth seven thou-

sand *scudi;* and expressed a wish to add a handsome gratuity to the genius who had created such marvels. The Cardinal, however, opposed this, and put the King off with a promise to make Cellini an allowance himself. This, however, he never did.

Cellini, meantime, returning to his statues, completed the clay models and commenced the "Jove" in silver. He was well advanced with this figure when the Court returned to Paris, and, on his visiting the King, His Majesty expressed a desire to visit his studios and inspect the works that he was executing. The artist showed great pleasure at this, and the King arranged to come that very day. He was accompanied by his mistress, Madame d'Estampes, the Cardinal Jean de Lorraine, the King and Queen of Navarre, and the Dauphin and Dauphiness. The Royal party arrived, however, before they were expected, and surprised the workshop in full swing. Cellini himself had just been reprimanding a small French shop-boy, and in launching a kick at him he lifted him into the air so that the urchin fell full in the arms of the King, who was just entering. This circumstance, although it embarrassed Cellini exceedingly, caused great amusement to His Majesty and the Court. Francis then examined with great

interest all that was being done, but suggested that Cellini should only supervise his work, without doing the heavy manual work himself. This, however, the artist declined to hear of, saying that he should pine and fall ill if he had no active work to do.

Next day Benvenuto was sent for again by the King at his dinner-hour: and Francis, in the presence of the Cardinal of Ferrara, after highly praising the ewer and basin, expressed a wish for a salt-cellar to accompany them. For this he desired Cellini to prepare a design. The craftsman at once replied that he had a design actually ready; and, with the King's permission, hastening across the river to Petit Nesle, he returned with the wax model already described that he had made for Ippolito d'Este.[1] The King was delighted with this model, and desired that it should be at once begun for him in solid gold. The Cardinal, who recognized the model, then interposed with the same objections that he had raised upon the previous occasion: namely, that so elaborate a piece of work could not be completed in the lifetime of one man. The King, however, was not to be put off with such considerations: and, summoning Cellini to his private chamber,

[1] Cf. p. 82, *supra*.

inquired how much gold would be needful for the work. Benvenuto replied, "One thousand *scudi*." The King thereupon gave orders that such a sum in full weight should be given to him at once. But envious of Cellini's good fortune, his enemies plotted an attack upon him as he was returning to Petit Nesle laden with this large sum of money. They contrived that payment in full should be delayed until a late hour of the night, and that the servants whom he had sent for to escort and protect him should be prevented from joining him. Boldness and stratagem, however, foiled this dastardly attempt; and the money having been safely stowed away, Cellini and his household gave themselves up to feasting and rejoicing.

The salt-cellar was commenced at once. Cellini tells us that he had at this time many workmen in his employ: Italians, French, and Germans; but he remarks that the constitutions of his German workmen could not keep pace with their energy, and that the strain of working up to his standard was too much for them.

In spite of the number and importance of the King's commissions, and Benvenuto's jealousy lest he should be displaced in Royal favour, he seems to have begun certain works for His

Majesty on mere speculation. We hear, for example, of a large two-handled silver vase commenced at this time without the King's knowledge. He also took it into his head to make experiments in bronze casting. He began, therefore, with a cast of his proposed "Jove" and two busts: one of "Julius Cæsar," larger than life and copied from a small antique brought from Rome, and the other of a female model, on whom Cellini conferred the name of *Fontana Belió*.[1] Over this question of the casting, Cellini came into collision with the older French masters of that art, and a competition was arranged: Benvenuto undertaking his two busts, whilst the "Jove" was to be cast according to the directions of his rivals. The result proved the superiority of Cellini's methods; and his defeated rivals only escaped financial ruin through the generosity of their whilom opponent.

At this period there came to Paris the famous Italian warrior Piero Strozzi,[2] who thereupon applied to the King for "Letters of Naturaliza-

[1] This model was the girl Caterina, who subsequently caused the craftsman so much trouble and annoyance. Cf. p. 107.

[2] Son of Filippo Strozzi the younger and Clarice de' Medici.

tion." These were granted him as a great favour, and on payment of a large sum of money. It occurred to Francis to confer the same high honour upon Cellini also. These precious "Letters," together with the Deed confirming the gift of the Château of Petit Nesle, remained amongst the craftsman's most highly prized treasures to the end of his life, and they are still preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence.

A bronze base, bearing reliefs of "Leda and the Swan" and of the "Rape of Ganymede," upon which to set up the silver "Jove," was the next work; and then a similar base was contrived for the "Juno," for the fashioning of which statue, however, Benvenuto was still awaiting the silver.

Quite a number of commissions were on hand at this moment. The gold salt-cellar, the great silver vase, the two bronze busts, several small jobs for the Cardinal of Ferrara and a variety of articles for the Italian nobles at the French Court. Amongst them, however, Cellini found time to fashion a small silver vase with the intention of presenting it to Madame d'Estampes.

Another visit from the King and his Court to the Château of Petit Nesle resulted in two

yet more ambitious undertakings, namely, a large fountain, for the Château of Fontainebleau, and a scheme for a doorway. Here are the artist's own descriptions of these models :

" First of all I had fashioned the gateway of the Palace of Fontana Beliò : in order to alter as little as possible the arrangement of the doorway which had been erected to the said palace, which was wide and dwarfed after that ugly French style of theirs : the opening of it was little more than a square, and above that same square a half-circle crushed down after the manner of a basket handle : in this half-circle the King desired to have a figure which should represent Fontana Beliò. I gave a very fine proportion to the said opening : then above the said opening I placed a correct half-circle : and for the sides I made certain charming excrescences, beneath which in the lower section, so as to come into correspondence with the part above, I placed a bracket, and a similar one above : and instead of the two columns which it clearly required, according to the fashioning employed above and below, I had constructed a satyr in each of the sites for the columns. The one was in more than half-relief, and with one of his arms appeared

to support that portion (of the doorway) which rests upon the columns: in the other arm he held a thick staff, and with his bold and fierce expression he struck terror into the beholder. The other figure was similar in attitude, but was different and varying in expression and in some other such respects: it had in its hand a scourge with three balls attached by certain chains. Although I say 'satyrs' these figures had nothing about them of the satyr except certain small horns and a goatish head: all the rest was in human form. In the half-circle I had fashioned a woman in a beautiful recumbent attitude; this figure held her left arm upon the neck of a stag, which was one of the King's devices. On one side I had fashioned in half-relief little wild-goats and some wild-boars and other woodland creatures in lower relief. On the other side hunting-dogs and hounds of many kinds, for thus teems that most beauteous wood wherein rises the fountain. I had then confined the whole of this work into a rectangular oblong, and in the angles of the composition above, in each I had fashioned a 'Victory' in low relief, with torches in their hands as the ancients are accustomed to (represent them). Above the said composition I had placed the 'Salamander,' the personal

device of the King, with many other most charming adornments appropriate to the said work, which showed that it was of the Ionic order (of architecture)."[1]

Here is the description of the fountain:

"—a fountain in the form of a perfect square, with most beautiful flights of steps around it, which intersected one another, a thing that had never been seen in those parts (i.e. France), and very rarely in these (i.e. Italy). In the centre of the said fountain I had set a base, which rose a little higher than the said basin of the fountain: upon this base I had placed a nude figure of very charming grace, of a size to correspond. This (figure) held a broken lance raised aloft in its right hand, and the left hand was placed upon the hilt of a scimitar fashioned in a most beautiful shape: it was poised upon its left foot, and the right rested upon the crest of a helmet as richly decorated as it is possible to imagine: and upon the four corners of the

[1] It is generally believed that the figure of the "Nymph" was the only one actually cast by Cellini himself. The history of the fragments, incomplete as they were, is long and complicated. But the "Nymph" (at one time attributed to Jean Goujon) is now to be seen in the Louvre.

fountain I had placed upon each a seated figure raised up (from the base), each bearing many charming emblems of their own."

King Francis not unnaturally inquired the signification of all these figures. The artist at once startled His Majesty by informing him that the central figure of this proposed fountain was designed to be fifty-four feet high.

He then proceeded to point out that this central figure was made to " represent the god ' Mars ' : these other four figures are designed for the *Talents* in which Your Majesty delights and favours so much. This one on the right hand is intended for the Science of all ' Literature ' : you see that it holds its own distinguishing attributes, which display ' Philosophy ' with all its accompanying merits. This second (figure) expresses the whole Art of Design ; that is to say, ' Sculpture,' ' Painting,' and ' Architecture.' This next is intended for ' Music,' which it is right should accompany all these Sciences. This last figure which looks so charming and benign is intended for ' Liberality,' for without her none of these splendid Virtues which God Himself displays to us can be demonstrated."

The wily and obsequious artist then added, in terms of somewhat fulsome flattery, that

the huge statue of "Mars" symbolized the King himself. All this was mightily pleasing to the susceptible monarch, and orders were given to supply Cellini with all that he might need for the carrying out of these ambitious projects.

But Madame d'Estampes, who it appears was not consulted on this occasion, took great offence on that account; and Cellini, with the object of appeasing her wrath, took to Saint Germain, where she then was, a beautiful little vase which she had desired him to make, with the intention of presenting it to her as a gift. The haughty lady, however, ordered him to wait outside her door, and kept him there so long that he lost his temper, and departing in a rage went and offered the vase to the Cardinal of Lorraine. The unfortunate Benvenuto, fainting from his long wait and for want of food, asked for a glass of water and a mouthful of bread; whereupon the Cardinal at once ordered refreshment for him, and compelled him, in spite of his resistance, to accept one hundred *scudi* in payment for the vase.

During this period Cellini was entertaining guests in his château. Amongst these were the celebrated physician, Messer Guido Guidi,[1]

[1] A native of Florence, and grandson maternally of the famous painter Domenico Ghirlandajo. He

Messer Luigi Alamanni and his two sons, and his former benefactor, Monsignor de' Rossi, Bishop of Pavia.[1] The former of these personages stayed with Benvenuto several years.

Amongst the amenities of the château was a tennis-court, from which our hero drew considerable profit, but which was subsequently the subject of much litigation. A printer of books and a merchant of saltpetre were also occupying a part of his premises, and had to be dislodged to make room for the craftsman's own workmen. Both of these men were evicted with considerable difficulty, especially the latter, who, being under the special protection of Madame d'Estampes, counted upon the favour of the King's mistress to protect him from the new-comer. Cellini, nevertheless, made short work of him and ejected him bag and baggage. He hastened at once to his patroness, but for once she had over-reached herself by attacking the Dauphin, and being somewhat in disgrace at Court, was for the moment powerless to support him.

Yet another tenant had to be forcibly ex-

subsequently held the chairs of Medicine and Philosophy in the University of Pisa, and died in that city in May 1569.

[1] Cf. p. 77, *supra*.

pelled, an act which provoked further complaints on the part of Madame d'Estampes to the King. Francis seems, however, to have taken it as rather a good joke ; upon which the angry favourite sent for Francesco Primaticcio, better known as *Bologna*,[1] and, holding out as an inducement the chance of procuring for him the commission for the fountain, plotted with him to undermine Cellini's favour with the King. The second of the dispossessed tenants now commenced a lawsuit against the craftsman, charging him with stealing some of his goods during the eviction. The account of this lawsuit in the " Autobiography " is most entertaining, and the personal vengeance wreaked by the craftsman on losing his case is characteristic of his violent disposition.

These disturbances caused Cellini some considerable anxiety with regard to the conditions of his residence in France, and he therefore appealed to his assistants to hasten the completion of the works of art already ordered, so that, should he lose the King's favour, he might

[1] This painter, who had been sent to Paris by the Duke of Mantua in 1533, had already been employed to clean and restore some of Raphael's paintings in the Royal Collection; and he remained in the service of the French sovereigns until his death, at an advanced age, in 1570.

at once beat a retreat to his native land. Amongst these assistants he enumerates five Italians. These were: Ascanio de' Mari and Paolo, or Pagolo (Pietro Paolo del Pozzo), already mentioned; another Roman youth also named Paolo, of the noble but impoverished family of Macharoni; a Ferrarese named Bartolommeo Chioccia; and a Florentine, also of good family, named Paolo Miccieri. This latter youth by his skill in keeping accounts and his feigned piety succeeded in hoodwinking Cellini, whilst carrying on an intrigue with the artist's model, Caterina, above-mentioned, who was also at that time his mistress. The details of the sordid story of Benvenuto's discovery of this treachery and the brutal revenge that he exacted from the culprits are set out at great length and dwelt upon with great gusto in the "Autobiography"; but it is scarcely necessary to repeat them here. At the suggestion of the girl's mother an attempt was made to lay a very serious criminal charge against Cellini, and fearing that, through the machinations of his numerous enemies, the case would go against him, he made all his preparations for a hasty flight to Italy. However, a bold demeanour and a prompt act of strategy, we read, threw back the accusation upon the

plaintiffs, and to his own evident relief Cellini escaped that danger also.

The King at this time had written to Cellini from Fontainebleau on the subject of dies for his coinage; and he therefore went to the Château to see His Majesty upon the subject. When, however, he arrived there he was greeted with the unpleasant news that Madame d'Estampes had succeeded in persuading the King to transfer the order for the colossal fountain to Primaticcio. An angry interview with his rival followed, in which Benvenuto, first by argument and afterwards by threats, endeavoured to induce Primaticcio to resign the commission, but without result.

Neither was the interview with the King that followed particularly fruitful, since Cellini insisted upon upholding his own methods (the Italian ones) of making coins, in opposition to the French processes desired by His Majesty. The result therefore was a deadlock; but it is possible that the fine portrait-medal of Francis I, unquestionably the work of Cellini, of which several bronze examples still exist, was struck at this period.[1]

[1] Examples of this medal are to be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale, in Paris, in the Imperial Cabinet of medals in Vienna, and in the Museo

MEDAL MADE FOR FRANCIS I

Caterina, the model, whom Cellini had compelled the treacherous Paolo Miccieri to marry, was still posing for the "Nymph of Fontainebleau" and other similar subjects, whilst the famous Salt-Cellar was progressing towards completion. At this point in the "Autobiography" there is another description of this work of art, with but slight variation from that already set out.[1] The finished work was then mounted upon a base of black ebony, to which were affixed four golden figures in half-relief, representing "Day," "Night," "Twilight," and "Dawn," together with four other figures illustrating the "Four Winds," the whole being highly finished and partly enamelled.

The King on seeing this wonderful piece of work was astonished at its magnificence, but ordered its creator to take it back to his own house for the present. Cellini, therefore, carried it home, and inviting his friends to a banquet, had the pleasure of being the first person to make actual use of his own creation.

About this time Primaticcio suggested to

Nazionale at the Bargello, in Florence. Strangely enough, in the inventory of the property found in Cellini's workshop at the time of his arrest in Rome in 1538, is a record of "a head of the King of France in lead."

[1] Cf. pp. 82 *et seq.*, *supra*.

King Francis that he should be allowed to go to Rome to procure casts of the most famous antique statues in the Eternal City. The list given by Cellini includes the following: the "Laocoon," the "Cleopatra," the "Venus," the "Commodus," the "Zingana" (*sic*), and the "Apollo."[1] Cellini sneers at this return to the antique for inspiration: for meantime with the aid of another model, Jeanne by name, whom he nicknamed *Scorzone* (i.e. the rustic),[2] he was progressing with his own "Victories" for the doorway at Fontainebleau.

Another visit from the King to the workshop at Petit Nesle resulted, we are told, in directions to the Cardinal to see that a sum of seven thousand *scudi* was paid to Cellini in two or three instalments. This the Cardinal promised to do (so we are told), but the heavy expenses in which the King had become involved through

[1] These copies of the "Laocoon," the "Ariadne," or "Bacchante," of the Vatican (called here "Cleopatra"), the "Venus" (neither the Medicean nor the Capitoline, but the one in the Museo Pio-Clementino), the "Hercules with the Infant Bacchus" (here styled "Commodus"), and the "Apollo" (Belvedere), are all still preserved in the Louvre. The "Zingana" is probably a copy of the Borghese "Diana."

[2] By this girl Cellini was the father of his first child, Costanza, of whom nothing further than her birth and christening is known. She probably died in infancy.

the war with the Emperor were put forward by him as an excuse for not fulfilling his undertaking. Furthermore, with specious arguments His Eminence persuaded His Majesty that the artist, on the receipt of so large a sum all at once would make arrangements to depart forthwith to his native Italy. The King, being actually pressed for money, readily agreed to this argument, and the subject dropped.

The King, on yet another occasion, was mightily impressed by the silver " Jove " now complete, and still more with the colossal " Mars," which stood on the grass plot in the courtyard at Petit Nesle ; and suggested further rewards for the recompense of Cellini's services.

Once more, however, Madame d'Estampes appeared upon the scene, and put forward another creature of her own, a distiller of perfumes, to claim possession of the tennis-court belonging to the Château. It would seem that for a time this man actually did secure entry upon the premises ; but Cellini, acting, as it chanced, under legal advice, made a violent assault and drove him also out by force.

The famous silver figure of " Jove " being complete, the King desired that it should be brought to the Château of Fontainebleau, where, at Madame d'Estampes' suggestion, it

was decided that it should be placed in a long corridor decorated with paintings by *il Rosso*. This corridor was furthermore adorned by a number of fine pieces of sculpture, amongst which were the copies of famous antiques brought from Rome by Primaticcio, and now recast by him in bronze.

Cellini perceived at once the disadvantages with which he had to contend; and moreover, his enemy, Madame d'Estampes, contrived to delay the inspection of his statue until after nightfall. Nevertheless, by means of two somewhat meretricious tricks—a piece of lighted torch concealed in "Jove's" thunderbolt, and hidden castors beneath the statue itself—he succeeded in forcing due attention to his work. A fierce quarrel, however, arose between the craftsman and the favourite with regard to a veil with which the statue was partially draped. The lady at first suggested that this drapery was hung over it to conceal its defects, and then, when the sculptor, angrily removing it, showed that the figure was stark naked,[1] affirmed that he had purposely insulted her. The exchange of words was so violent and so abusive that

[1] It would seem that this was the only one of the twelve statues ever completed, and of this one no trace, not even a drawing or a model, now exists.

the King himself was compelled to intervene, and hastily to dismiss the artist with further promises of favour and support.

The " Jove " being off his hands, Benvenuto now turned his attention to the figure of " Mars " for the fountain at Fontainebleau, usually described by him as " my Colossus." He had contrived a monster model for this figure out of plaster, built up upon a framework of wood ; and it was his intention to cast the various portions separately, and then weld the whole together. In the meantime, however, he tells us an amusing story of how his workman, Ascanio de' Mari, being enamoured of a certain young woman, hid her for several days in the head of this great figure, spreading terror throughout the whole quarter thereby. Lights and movements were perceived from a distance in the figure's eyes, and popular imagination, based upon the sinister reputation already clinging around the Château of Petit Nesle, immediately whispered tales of demons and spirits.

The composition of the doorway for the Château at Fontainebleau next became Cellini's chief object of interest. At the same time the King applied to him for advice concerning the fortification of Paris against the approach of

the Emperor Charles V.[1] In this matter he was again supplanted through the machinations of Madame d'Estampes, who, with the aid of Claude d'Annebaut, Admiral of France, contrived to get the commission transferred to Girolamo Bellarmati of Siena. Once more, therefore, disgusted and annoyed, Cellini fell back for consolation upon the construction of his doorway.

In spite of all her schemes (if we are to believe our autobiographer) the haughty and vindictive favourite was not, however, able to divert the King's interest entirely away from Cellini. Francis was again persuaded to visit the workshop to inspect the completed portions of the great doorway. He took this opportunity of pointing out to the craftsman—what was undoubtedly true—that in spite of all the genuine commissions and orders that he had actually given him, he was everlastingly grumbling and quarrelling over something, and was continually neglecting genuine orders to make other things on his own account which were not asked for. Of course, Cellini had plenty to say in his own defence, but his long-

[1] In August 1544 the Imperial Army, after various successes in the field, approached to within nineteen leagues of the capital.

winded arguments are by no means wholly convincing; and on his own admission no orders came his way for a good many months afterwards.

We next hear that, in consequence of this lack of work, Cellini dismissed all his workmen except Ascanio and Paolo, with whose help he completed two more vases made from silver that was his own property. These two vases he carried to Argentan, where Francis I then was. When he arrived he found that the King was ill, but a few days later he succeeded in seeing him and showing him the vases, with which His Majesty expressed himself much pleased. Cellini then asked leave to return to his own country, for, owing to the disturbed state of politics, there was not much present scope for (as he puts it) statue-making. The King, however, took great offence at this proposal, chid Cellini severely, and ordered him to return to Paris and gild the silver vases for him, declining to discuss any further the question of his departure. In despair Cellini approached the Cardinal of Ferrara, and implored him, in memory of his kindness in getting him out of Castel Sant' Angelo, to help him to procure permission to leave for Italy. The Cardinal promised his assistance, but advised him to

return first to Paris, and then, if within a specified time he received no directions to the contrary, he might freely set out on his journey.

Benvenuto, therefore, went back to Paris, and made suitable packing-cases for three silver vases: two of them being those already alluded to. After waiting twenty days for a message from the Court, and hearing nothing, he prepared to commence his journey homeward, in company with Ippolito Gonzaga, Count Galeotto della Mirandola, a fellow-citizen of his own named Lionardo Tedaldi, and others. He left his château, workshop, and certain unfinished works of art in charge of his workmen, Ascanio and Paolo, and he took with him but one servant and a little French lad as his personal attendants.

CHAPTER VII

FROM CELLINI'S FINAL DEPARTURE FROM FRANCE TO THE END OF THE "AUTOBIOGRAPHY"

1545–1562

THE three silver vases were loaded upon a pack mule borrowed from Cellini's guest, the Bishop of Pavia, and he assures us that it was his intention to carry them only as far as Lyons, there to leave them at one of the abbeys of which the Cardinal of Ferrara was incumbent. A report, however, had got about that Cellini was making off to Italy with property belonging to the King, and messengers were sent after him, who compelled him to give up all three vases, although, according to him, two of them were in any case his own property.

It was therefore in a very melancholy frame of mind that he proceeded upon his way.

At about a day's journey from Lyons the party were overtaken by a terrific thunderstorm with hailstones, which, beginning at the size of "pellets from a blow-pipe," increased to that of "large lemons." The storm com-

mitted great havoc throughout the surrounding country, and greatly terrified Cellini and his party. It caused them, however, but little actual damage, and in due course they reached Lyons in safety. Soon after they had crossed the frontier into Italy they were joined by Count Galeotto della Mirandola, who was travelling post. This noble brought very disconcerting news from Paris, and strongly advised Cellini to return at once to protect his own interests, which were already suffering at the hands of the Cardinal of Ferrara and his two faithless workmen.

We are told that the craftsman poised long between two opinions on this point, but we are not informed what influenced his final decision. All that we do know is that he chose to continue his journey to Florence as fast as he could go.

Parting from Ippolito Gonzaga, who went by way of Mirandola, Benvenuto passed on to Parma and Piacenza. In one of the streets of the latter place he met Pier Luigi Farnese,[1] who recognized him ; and though Cellini had not forgotten that this infamous personage was the prime cause of his sufferings in Castel

[1] Pier Luigi Farnese was created Duke of Parma and Piacenza in September of this same year.

Sant' Angelo, he determined to go and visit him. He reached the palace just after dinner and found Pier Luigi in the company of some members of the Landi family,[1] and rather to his own surprise received a most gracious welcome ; and was met even with apologies (rather lame ones in point of fact) for his imprisonment and sufferings. Then followed questions about his work in France and the commissions executed for King Francis I ; and finally offers of employment, which, however, Cellini declined on the score that he had left much work in France unfinished and intended eventually to return thither to complete it.

Pier Luigi, finding himself unable to persuade Cellini to stay at his Court, sent him the materials for a sumptuous feast, after partaking of which the traveller mounted his steed and proceeded to Florence.

Here he found his sister, Liperata, in considerable financial straits. Her second husband, Raffaello Tassi, was out of work and she had six daughters to provide for ; the eldest of whom was now of marriageable age, whilst the youngest was still out at nurse. Cellini tells

[1] Count Agostino Landi was one of the conspirators who took part in the assassination of Pier Luigi Farnese.

us that he had sent jewellery and other valuables to his brother-in-law to dispose of for him ; and that he had also made the family an allowance of four *scudi* per month. This latter sum, however, had proved insufficient for their maintenance, and Tassi, afraid to draw upon the sums realized by the sale of the valuables entrusted to him, had been pawning and raising money upon his own goods and possessions until he was in very serious difficulties. Benvenuto seems to have at once set to work to get these poor folks out of their troubles ; but we learn from other sources that Tassi died not long after this (1545), and that very soon after his death another husband, named Paolo Paolini, was found for the widow by her energetic brother.[1]

Duke Cosimo I de' Medici and his Duchess, Eleonora of Toledo, were at this time (August 1545) at Poggio a Caiano, ten miles distant from Florence. In order, as he says, merely to pay his dutiful respects to these distinguished personages, thither Cellini wended his way. But he goes on in his "Autobiography" to tell us of the kind reception that he met with and

[1] A goldsmith by trade, and one of Cellini's assistants in making the "Perseus."

PERSEUS

Wax Model in the Bargello, Florence

how Their Excellencies inquired much about the work which he had been executing for the King of France. The Duke, we read, sympathized with the artist in his disappointments and promised him employment at a better rate of recompense than that provided by Francis I. Cellini made a sort of defence of his late patron by reminding His Excellency that to Francis' intervention he owed his release from Castel Sant' Angelo; and put forward a variety of other excuses for him. But the Duke cut him rather short by offering him a commission on his own account, no less a project than the now so greatly celebrated "Perseus" for the Piazza della Signoria.

Cellini at once set to work upon this, and in a few weeks completed the wax model still preserved in the Museo Nazionale at the Bargello in Florence. This figure is small and roughly finished, but it expresses as nothing else of Cellini's does the real power and genius of his artistic conceptions. It is almost Greek in its simplicity, so that it is not to be wondered at that Cosimo "praised it extravagantly," and desired that it should be at once translated into bronze on a larger scale. But that translation, alas! was to prove its own and Cellini's undoing, as the sequel shows.

Cellini professed at first greatest diffidence in placing his work in any sort of competition with that of Donatello or of Michelangelo, but one is inclined to think that such expressions of modesty are somewhat insincere. However, he asserted that his finished work should be at least three times as fine as the small model; but he pointed out that in order to arrive at any result he must be provided with funds and other conveniences for his work. It would appear that he already had his eye upon a suitable house wherein he could set up his workshops and his furnaces. This house, he proposed, with the Duke's assistance, to acquire for himself, offering as security for the purchase money two valuable jewels brought by him from France. These His Excellency, however, refused to take, presenting him with the house as a gift from himself.[1]

The question of money, though, was quite another matter, and long and very tedious are Benvenuto's accounts of his quarrels and difficulties with a variety of persons appointed by Duke Cosimo to negotiate with his brilliant, but most intractable and violent, protégé; the prin-

[1] This house was in the *Via del Rosaio* (now *Via della Colonna*), and corresponds with a house to which access is obtained at No. 59 *Via della Pergola.*

VIA DELLA PERGOLA, FLORENCE

cipal of these being a certain Ser Pier Francesco Riccio,[1] major-domo and formerly tutor to His Excellency. After much wrangling and trouble, however, the necessary alterations were made to the house, and Cellini's salary was fixed at two hundred *scudi*, a similar sum to that paid to Baccio Bandinelli.

Meantime matters in France were turning out most unfavourably for Cellini. Francis I was exceedingly annoyed at his departure, and vowed that he would not of his own accord recall him ; whilst the two treacherous pupils left behind, anxious to secure the King's favour for themselves, only fanned the flame of his resentment.

Nevertheless, Cellini went on preparing the large group of " Perseus and Medusa " whilst waiting for the completion of his workshops. And it is at this time that we begin to hear of the heated dissensions between him and his rival, Baccio Bandinelli. We are told that this jealous personage began by trying to prevent Benvenuto from procuring suitable models for his work. This difficulty was scarcely over-

[1] In spite of abuse showered upon this man by both Cellini and Vasari, he seems to have been most public-spirited, and was certainly a benefactor to his native town of Prato. He was born in 1490, and died in February 1564.

come before the artist fell ill, and had to give up for a time the very heavy labour entailed by the large group. Nevertheless, he did not remain idle, but with the assistance of two clever goldsmith brothers, Giovan Paolo and Domenico Poggini, he made a variety of smaller objects for the Duke and Duchess, a small vase adorned with figures in low relief for Her Excellency to drink water out of, a golden girdle set with precious stones and elaborately chased, and so forth. One day, moreover, when the Duke came to the wardrobe where his goldsmiths were working, Cellini, by this time a bit stronger in health, suggested making a portrait bust of His Excellency larger than life. This bust still exists in the Bargello in Florence, and although like most of Cellini's finished work it errs on the side of over-elaboration, it shows great power and is clearly a speaking likeness.

The Duchess also, we are told, was so pleased with the craftsman's work at this time, that she would have had him give up his project of the " Perseus," and devote himself entirely to small commissions for herself.

Cellini, disturbed by the reports received from Paris, now set to work to compose a long and elaborate justification, running to " nine

sheets of ordinary paper," in order to explain his case, with accounts of all the money entrusted to him and due to him. This document he showed first to the Duke, and then dispatched to the Cardinal of Ferrara at the French Court.

The " Autobiography," at this point, becomes very confused, and the sequence of events is not easy to follow. The continual quarrels with other goldsmiths and jewellers, with Court officials, and even with His Excellency himself, and an unpleasant episode in connection with one of his models, although they add picturesqueness to his own account of himself and display considerable skill in painting his own case in the brightest colours, are hardly germane to a sketch of his life as an artist.

It would seem that Cellini thought it wiser to absent himself just then, and a short visit to Ferrara and Venice took place at this time. At the latter city he met the traitor Lorenzino de' Medici and other Florentines, who gave him a warm welcome ; but he adds besides that they all advised him to return to France. He tells us that he wrote at great length to the Duke to explain his reasons for leaving Florence, and he assures us that on his return the Duke welcomed him kindly, and set him to work once more as if nothing had happened.

The colossal Bust had turned out successfully enough in the model, but Duke Cosimo appears to have begun to entertain some doubts as to whether the sculptor was capable of making an equally successful casting in bronze of so large a figure, and Cellini explains most elaborately his complaints to His Excellency of misrepresentations made by his rivals, especially Bandinelli, regarding his skill. He even begged if he was doubted to be allowed to go away.

Amid all this wrangling we hear of small articles for personal adornment or table decoration made either by Cellini himself or after his designs by the Poggini brothers:—the setting of a diamond pendant, sundry vases in gold and silver, etc.,—and Benvenuto was even emboldened to suggest to His Excellency that he should be commissioned to make the State coinage. Cosimo apparently did not rise to this last proposal, and we may even infer that, like Francis, he was rather irritated by the incessant restless desire of the artist to undertake everything else except the work actually in hand.

Amongst the minor commissions we read of one for a vase made of silver brought from the Duke's own silver mines. Cellini, somewhat unwisely,—but, as he asserts, in order to allow

himself more time for the "Perseus,"—committed this job to a fellow-goldsmith, named Piero di Martino, providing him with his own designs and sketch-models. This man began the work so badly, that after several months Cellini had to retrieve it together with the remainder of the silver, intending to finish it himself. The Duke, however, heard about it, and insisted on having the unfinished vase, the models, and the rest returned to him; and nothing more was ever heard of this unlucky piece of work.

The Duchess, as we have heard already, was very keen to keep Cellini to goldsmith's work for herself; but he insisted upon proving to his enemies and rivals that his skill as "the new sculptor" was in no wise inferior to their own. In order, however, to retain Her Excellency's favour he made her some prettily decorated silver vases of the size of "a little twopenny stew-pan." These offerings, we hear, were well received and promptly paid for. The Duchess, moreover, promised to use her influence with her husband to counteract that of Bandinelli and Cellini's other enemies, who, on the plea that the "Perseus" would never be finished, were endeavouring to hinder the supplies of money necessary for it.

In one of his fits of depression Cellini tells us that he mounted upon his nag and went to Fiesole to see a little illegitimate son of his, who was out at nurse there. On the way back he met in the Piazza di San Domenico his enemy, Baccio Bandinelli, accompanied by his young son, a child of ten. Cellini thus had his rival completely at his mercy, and Bandinelli certainly expected to receive some severe injury, or perhaps even to lose his life. Benvenuto, however, being in a somewhat chastened mood, beyond a few contemptuous words did nothing to him, but rode on with a determination to confound all his rivals at one blow by the triumphant success of his artistic achievement. Three days later the sad news arrived of the death of the little child at Fiesole, an event which provoked from him an outburst of such natural and human sorrow as is in marked contrast to the generally violent tone assumed by him throughout the "Autobiography."

Bandinelli, not satisfied with his good fortune in having escaped Cellini's wrath, next introduced one of his own workmen as a spy into Benvenuto's employ, and through this man made him an offer of a piece of marble, which, apparently very much to his surprise,

Cellini accepted. At about the same time Stefano Colonna had sent to the Duke as a present a fine fragment of a marble statue. It was a figure of a boy of Greek workmanship. This fragment was shown to Cellini, and he at once offered to undertake its restoration as a "Ganymede." Whilst the artist was explaining his views on Greek Art to the Duke, Bandinelli came in and a quarrel ensued between the two artists, which for violence and coarseness of language and invective it would be hard to parallel in any well-known literary classic. The autobiographer claims to have repulsed the most violent and outrageous accusation levelled against him with considerable ingenuity; but this episode, which we learn from other sources was not by any means their only public display of animosity, scarcely reflects much credit upon either of them. The upshot of the quarrel was that the Duke, hearing that Bandinelli had offered a piece of marble to Cellini, bade the latter choose a piece at once from the Opera del Duomo. This Benvenuto refused to do, saying that Bandinelli had promised to send a piece to his house, and that he would accept it in no other way. Next morning, then, a piece of marble purporting to come from Bandinelli appeared at Cellini's door, and the

craftsman hastily set to work upon it. It proved, however, so bad and flawed a piece that the group of "Apollo and Hyacinth," which Benvenuto projected making out of it, remained unfinished in his studio at the time of his death.

For the restoration of the "Ganymede," the Duke sent to Rome for a piece of Greek marble; but Cellini, thinking it a sin to use so fine a piece of marble merely for repairs, found other material for that purpose and shaped the Greek marble into a small sketch-statuette of "Narcissus." Unluckily, in this piece of Greek marble also there were two flaws, and, later, when in 1547 there was a tremendous inundation of the Arno and Cellini's studio was flooded, the statuette fell down and broke across the breasts, a disaster which the craftsman remedied by girdling its body with a wreath of flowers.

A finger-ring made for the Duchess, a diamond in a setting formed of four cherubs with four masks and divers fruit in gold and enamel, as a gift for King Philip of Spain; and a golden eye presented by one of his nieces on his behalf to the Church of Santa Lucia in Florence, as a thank-offering for the recovery of his sight, imperilled by a splinter of steel,

complete the list of work recorded in the "Autobiography" for the year 1547.

"Medusa," the lower figure in the great "Perseus" group, had been successfully cast; but the Duke's advisers had suggested to him that the rest of the composition, as foreshadowed by the model, was impossible of satisfactory result. With such arguments, therefore, he assailed the sculptor, who explained at length the fallacies of his enemies' propositions.

The account of the casting in the "Autobiography" is one of the most stirring and well-written passages in the whole work, and deserves to be read in the original, for it is too long to extract here. The unfortunate artist, short of money and surrounded by opposition and want of faith, even amongst his own workpeople, set up his casting with the utmost care and due preparation. The huge fires kept up threw out so much heat, and the flames rose so high, that the workshops themselves caught fire and threatened to collapse upon the busy artificers; whilst from one side of the buildings storms of water and wind interfered with the equalization of the furnaces. In the midst of all this Cellini himself was attacked by a sudden fever, which compelled him to take to

his bed, and he believed himself to be dying. Nevertheless, a vision of a crooked old man, who, he says, resembled one of those persons who visit condemned criminals to prepare them for death, roused him from his couch. Ill as he was, he threw on his clothes, and by dint of his own personality and force of character, saved the casting, which was already commencing to solidify. More wood was sent for: this time young oak boughs, as giving a fiercer heat and containing less resin than the pine-wood of which the previous fires had been built: boards, carpets, and coarse clothes were brought out to keep off the torrents of water; and since the metal itself appeared to be running short, Benvenuto gave orders that all the pewter-vessels and plates in his establishment should be sacrificed in the furnace. The result of all this was that with a loud report and a flash of flame the cover of the furnace burst, and the molten metal flowing out was conducted into the moulds, which rapidly filled, to the entire satisfaction of the delighted artist and his assistants, who now proceeded to take some food and rest.

This casting proved even more successful than Cellini had anticipated, and he was able to demonstrate to the Duke the truth of his

assertion that the heat of the fire would drive the metal into the higher portions of the mould, i.e. the head of " Medusa " held aloft by " Perseus " ; rather than into the figure's foot, which was the lowest point. Indeed, so much was this proved to be the case, that the toes of that foot were actually not completely formed.

The " Perseus " being thus successfully completed, Cellini went to see the Duke, who was then at Pisa, to ask his permission to go to Rome on business. This business was connected with Bindo Altoviti,[1] a bronze bust of whom, somewhat larger than life, had been made by Cellini some little time previously. This bust had been greatly admired by Michelangelo, and he had written to Cellini complimenting him upon it. In connection, however, with this work of art it would appear that the sculptor had arranged that certain sums of money, partly his own and partly belonging to

[1] A member of one of the most illustrious Florentine families, and a rich merchant, residing in Rome. He was in strong opposition to the Medici, who were, however, unable to injure him on account of his high favour at the Papal Court. He was born in 1491, and died in 1557. This bust is now preserved in the Collection of Mrs. John Gardner, Fenway Court, Boston, U.S.A.

the Duke, should remain in Altoviti's hands in return for an annuity for the term of his natural life. Difficulties and differences had arisen over this transaction, and Benvenuto complains that on this visit to Rome Altoviti did not receive him so cordially as heretofore.

Cellini visited the Pope, Julius III,[1] who, he says, seemed desirous that he should stay in Rome, and undertake work for him there. But such proposals were thwarted by the Florentine ambassador, Averardo Serristori.

His embassy to the great Michelangelo on behalf of Duke Cosimo was also unsuccessful: the offer of a seat in the Florentine Senate being less attractive to the famous artist than his work upon the Cathedral of Saint Peter. Cellini tried hard to persuade him that his favourite pupil, Francesco d' Amadore of Casteldurante, generally known as *Urbino*, would, if given full instructions, carefully and conscientiously carry them out; but all his arguments were unavailing.

On his return to Florence Cellini found the Ducal Court at Castello; but his reception by

[1] Giovanni Maria Ciocchi, of Monte Sansavino, elected February 22nd 1550. He died on March 23rd 1555.

His Excellency was so cold and embarrassed, that he soon became aware that his enemies had again been at work; and shortly after this an unlucky misunderstanding with the Duchess regarding a pearl necklace involved him in disgrace with Her Excellency also.

In 1553 war broke out between Florence and Siena. Piero Strozzi, Marshal in the army of the French King Henri II, had entered the latter place, and Cosimo, relying upon the support of the Emperor, had taken up arms against him. The final result of the war was in favour of the Duke, and in April 1555 he besieged and took the rival city. But during the earlier stages of these hostilities Florence herself was in actual danger, and Cosimo called upon his various architects, engineers, and other craftsmen to assist in fortifying the city gates. To Cellini was allotted the Porta al Prato and a postern leading to the Arno, presumably somewhere near the present Park of the Cascine. As usual Cellini began quarrelling with the Ducal officials, and even came to words with the Duke himself regarding the plans for fortifying his own gates. We hear, anyhow, that Cellini managed to get his own way. In spite, however, of the Duke's mandate, difficulties were raised by a Lombard captain on

guard at the said Porta al Prato; and but for the intervention of certain respectable citizens, who were present, a sanguinary conflict would have ensued. These people pointed out to the foreigner that Benvenuto was in the right, and had received his orders from the Duke himself. He therefore withdrew his opposition, and after giving his instructions Cellini proceeded to the postern. Here he found a young captain from Cesena, whose manners, he tells us, were like those of "a charming young maiden," but who was in time of need "the bravest of men and the most murderous [*sic*] that can be imagined." With this young man he seems soon to have become on terms of great friendship, so that this bastion was more successfully fortified than the other.

Having completed this work satisfactorily, Cellini returned with great relief to the final arrangements for his "Perseus."

About this time there was found in certain excavations at Arezzo that remarkable bronze monster, now preserved in the Museo Archeologico in Florence, known as the "Chimæra" and at the same time were discovered a number of small bronze statuettes, covered with rust and dirt, and in some cases even incomplete. Duke Cosimo took it into his head to amuse

himself by cleaning and repairing these little figures himself, calling in Cellini to assist him. This brought him into pleasant personal intercourse with His Excellency, but it seriously hindered the completion of the "Perseus," so much so indeed, that Benvenuto had at last to make an appeal to the Duke to fix a limit to the time when his attendance would be required at the Palace. Further trouble, however, with the Duchess, who objected to the frequency of his visits, and complained that the work upon which he was engaged for the Duke appeared to be endless, increased his difficulties; but the affection displayed for him by the Ducal children[1] seems to have somewhat contributed to clear the air.

One evening Cellini transported the four small figures for the base of the "Perseus," "Jove," "Mercury," "Minerva," and "Danæ with the infant Perseus," to the Palace for the inspection of Their Excellencies; and he arranged them in such fashion that they might be seen to the best advantage. The Duke and the Duchess, hearing of this, came to inspect the works of art. Duke Cosimo happened to

[1] These were Don Francesco, at that time twelve years of age; Don Giovanni, ten; Don Garzia, six; and Don Ferdinando (Ernando), four.

be carrying in his hand a pear-shoot, and in his pleasure and satisfaction he handed this pear-shoot to the artist, directing him to plant it in his garden. Cellini seems to have at once seized this opportunity to obtain a ratification of the gift of the house and its appurtenances. The Duchess, moreover, was so pleased with the statuettes that she did not want them to be wasted upon the base of the larger statue. Cellini had, however, quite made up his mind on that point, and whilst Their Excellencies were safely out riding he quietly removed these pieces and soldered them into their places, according to his own design. The Duchess was, of course, more furious than ever, and once more access to the Palace became fraught with difficulty.

The " Perseus " was now complete, but the Duke declined to express a final judgment upon it, until it had been conveyed to the Piazza della Signoria, and had been set up in position in the Loggia de' Lanzi. Since it was still wanting in a number of minor details Cellini hesitated to unveil it ; but the Duke pressed him to do this, reserving his own opinion until the work had been publicly exhibited. It was not without reason that Benvenuto was loth to uncover his work until it really was

complete ; but to please the Duke he reluctantly consented, and the statue was duly unveiled. Immediately a perfect hail of sonnets in praise of the work overwhelmed the artist. A vast number of these were affixed to the door-posts of the screen surrounding the composition, but some were sent to the artist himself. Amongst these were several sent by Jacopo Carucci (better known as *Pontormo*) and his pupil Angiolo Allori (celebrated under the name of *Bronzino*), which were delivered by the hand of the latter's nephew and pupil, Alessandro Allori, afterwards also a distinguished painter.

The Duke, prompted, we are told, by the envious tongue of Bandinelli, was not satisfied even yet, stipulating that the result could not be fairly arrived at until the statue were fully exposed all round ; and it was further suggested that, capable as Cellini undoubtedly was in making small figures, a large figure was beyond his power of accomplishment.

However, in due time, on Saturday April 28th 1554, the statue was, with much pomp, finally unveiled altogether. The Duke himself sat at a lower window of the Palace, in order that he might hear the public comments made upon

it ; and he expressed himself more than satisfied with the result of the public ordeal.[1]

Many people congratulated the artist himself, amongst them being two noblemen who were in Florence on an embassy to the Duke from the Viceroy of Sicily. These courteous personages went so far as to invite him to visit their city, quoting as an inducement the success obtained at Messina by Fra Giovanni Angiolo da Montorsoli. Cellini thanked them for all their compliments, but declined to leave the service of the Duke of Florence. Two days after this Benvenuto when visiting the Duke, who renewed his promises of favours and rewards to come, begged for permission to go on a pilgrimage to Vallombrosa, Camaldoli, and

[1] It is certain that even in Cellini's day the praise of his "Perseus" was not as universal as he would have us believe, and that even amongst connoisseurs who had no bias against him of either malice or envy. Modern criticism is anything but satisfied with the group. It is ill-proportioned, and suggests laboured conception, and an entire want of that charming spontaneity so noticeable in the wax model. It certainly is, however, technically a *tour de force :* and the base is very generally admired as a fine combination of the art of the architect, the sculptor, and the goldsmith. The original of the fine bas-relief of "Perseus delivering Andromeda," designed for the plinth below the base, is now in the Museo Nazionale of the Bargello.

PERSEUS

Colossal bronze. Loggia de' Lanzi, Florence

La Vernia. To this the Duke consented, promising to see to a proper provision and reward for him upon his return.

Taking as a guide a young fellow who had been assisting him in his workshop, Cellini started on his expedition, revelling as he went in the beauty of the country through which he travelled. His young companion's name was Cesare de' Federigi, and he was a native of Santa Maria di Bagno in the Tuscan Romagna, to which village he conducted his employer. There they both received a warm welcome from the Federigi family, and there Cellini made the acquaintance of one of Cesare's uncles, a certain Federigo Federigi, by profession a surgeon, who seems to have been a shrewd observer of a variety of other things besides surgery, and to have even dabbled somewhat in Alchemy. This remarkable man not only pointed out some mines of gold and silver, and a number of other objects of interest to be seen in the district, but he also drew Cellini's attention to an important strategic fact: namely, that the pass over the Apennines into Florentine territory near Camaldoli was wholly unprotected; and that Piero Strozzi, who was actually then encamped in the Valdichiana, could have entered the Casentino through it and taken the

fortress of Poppi by surprise. The old gentleman added to his kindness by making a sketch-map of the district, in order to explain more clearly the actual situation. Benvenuto at once returned post-haste to Florence, and, without even removing his riding boots, hastened to the Palace. On the way thither, however, he met the Duke himself in the street, who was greatly surprised to see him, and inquired what had brought him back so soon. To this Cellini replied that he had returned solely upon His Excellency's account; for that he himself would have greatly enjoyed a longer stay in so beautiful a country. He then accompanied the Duke back to the Palace and laid before him the plan and information which he had received. The Duke appeared to be rather uneasy at first, but presently pointed out that the question of protection for that pass had been arranged with the Duke of Urbino.

Quarrels with the Duke and with his agents over the payment due for the statue of "Perseus" now fill many pages of the "Autobiography." The Duchess even proposed to him that he should put his cause into her hands, but he refused her offer. The wrangling over this valuation was interminable, and Cellini even threatened to leave Florence, a step which

PERSEUS

Bronze Model in the Bargello, Florence

the Duke peremptorily forbade. An arrangement for his allowance was made at last, but the payments were most irregular both in time and amount, so that the autobiographer informs us that in 1566 five hundred gold *scudi* were still due to him. His salary also was three years in arrears when the Duke fell dangerously ill, and, fancying himself about to die, gave orders that all the arrears and debts due from him should be paid off. Thus Cellini did at last receive the arrears due, but he states that for the "Perseus" he was never fully paid.

The Duke now began to interest himself in the adornment of the choir of the cathedral of Florence, then still called *Santa Maria del Fiore*. He therefore sent messages to Cellini, desiring him to make certain bronze bas-reliefs to decorate this choir. Benvenuto, however, became aware that, although the scheme of arrangement for the choir was designed by Giuliano di Baccio d' Agnolo, the actual carrying out of that scheme had been committed to his enemy, Baccio Bandinelli. He therefore declined the Duke's request; but he begged to be allowed to make a central door for the principal façade of the great church; and for this permission he offered to forgo the larger

portion of the payment to which such a work would entitle him.

The Directors of the Opera del Duomo of Sta. Maria del Fiore seemed pleased at this proposal, and went to consult the Duke about it. Cosimo, however, was not at all pleased with the idea. Cellini then suggested making two pulpits for the choir, and he received permission to make sketch-models for them. He made two of these sketch-models, one being much more elaborate than the other. To his chagrin and annoyance the Duke preferred the less elaborate one, and it seems evident that the difference between employer and artist became so sharp that the order was eventually withdrawn altogether. In any case it was not completed; but in the "Inventory" made after Cellini's death we find entries of small models for these incomplete works. From documentary evidence we have reason to believe that Cellini did actually make models for the door and the bas-reliefs as well; but that there were other reasons besides those put forward by himself in the "Autobiography" for their abandonment.

An interval of silence extending over three years now occurs in the "Autobiography," and

we can only obtain the vaguest account of Cellini's life during that period. Benvenuto's own allusions are limited to a " Memorandum " preserved in the Biblioteca Riccardiana, and a number of sonnets. Public documents, however, supply a little more information; but since they reveal circumstances by no means creditable either to the manners or morals of the subject of this memoir, which, however, do not affect his career as an artist, we may set them on one side and pass on. We may, however, make one remark germane to our story, and that is that the craftsman, condemned to well-deserved imprisonment, made application by a Petition of his own dated March 3rd 1557, backed up by a Letter from his friend Monsignor Girolamo de' Rossi, Bishop of Pavia, dated March 12th, that his confinement might be transferred to the limits of his own residence, in order that he might there continue to labour upon a marble crucifix which he was then making, ostensibly to be set up over his own grave. His Petition was granted, and on the 27th of the same month he was transferred to his own house for a four years' detention therein. Apparently, however, the strictness of such confinement was relaxed in about two years, for he himself takes up the " Autobiography " in

1559 on the road near Poggio a Caiano. Hither he had gone out of curiosity to see a huge piece of marble that was on its way to Florence for the use of Bandinelli, who intended to make a statue of "Neptune" out of it. Although Cellini tells us that he knew already that through the favour of the Duchess this block had been already allotted to Bandinelli, he clearly hankered after it himself, and put forward a great many broad hints that it should be transferred to him. He even went so far as to force his way into the presence of the Ducal pair themselves at Poggio a Caiano and to hang around their dinner-table, chattering about this piece of marble. He tells us that he succeeded so far as to persuade the Duke to allow him to make some sketch-models for a statue of "Neptune"; and he furthermore declares that His Excellency told the Cardinal of Santa Fiora that the piece of marble was intended for him.

In order, then, to gain the Duchess' favour Cellini visited her with certain trinkets, which pleased her so much that she asked what was his principal work at that time. He replied that it was a life-size figure of the "Crucified Saviour" in the very whitest of marble on a cross of the very blackest example of that same

material. She then inquired what he meant to do with it. He replied by detailing its cost in labour and money, but added that, in spite of all that, he would make a present of it to Her Excellency if she would assist him to obtain the block of marble and the commission for the "Neptune."

The Duchess was by no means pleased at this, but nevertheless the Duke brought the Ambassadors from Ferrara and Lucca to see the model for this statue, and at their suggestion a competition was opened for figures the full size of the block of marble itself. This proposal appears to have produced in Bandinelli so much distress and chagrin that, combined with his other ailments, it caused his death on February 7th 1560.

Before his death, however, having heard of Cellini's "Crucifix," he set to work and made a "Pietà," which is still to be seen over his tomb in the Pazzi Chapel in the Church of the Annunziata in Florence.

Cellini had, he tells us, originally offered his "Crucifix" to the monks at Santa Maria Novella, and preparations had actually been made for setting it up in their church; but when he told them that he wanted to make a little sepulchre for himself at the foot of it,

they demurred, saying that for such a permission he must apply to the Directors of their Opera. It annoyed him so much to find that they had not secured this permission for him before accepting his gift that he determined to transfer his " Crucifix " also to the Church of the Annunziata.

The Duchess, still hostile towards Cellini, announced that, since she had supported Bandinelli in life, so she would respect his memory now that he was dead; and that whatever happened Cellini should not have the block of marble. In spite of this, however, the clay models for the " Neptune " competition were progressing apace. Cellini had secured for his workshop the screened-off section of the Loggia de' Lanzi, where he had finished off his " Perseus." Gian Bologna was working in the cloisters of Santa Croce; Vincenzo Danti of Perugia in the house of Ottaviano de' Medici; Francesco Mosca (known as *Moschino*) at Pisa; and Bartolommeo Ammannato in another part of the same Loggia de' Lanzi.

When Cellini's figure was already well advanced the Duke, accompanied by Giorgio Vasari, who was a warm admirer of Ammannato, came down to inspect the progress which that sculptor had made. Whilst there, it oc-

curred to him to inquire if he might also examine Cellini's work. Benvenuto was very pleased at this, and gladly showed his work to His Excellency, who professed himself more than pleased with the result of the enlargement from the little model that he had previously seen and admired.

But, alas! Cellini was not destined to succeed in this competition. A totally unexpected misfortune fell upon him, whereby he was not only involved in a succession of exasperating lawsuits; but nearly lost his life as well through poison administered to him by the treacherous tenants of some property which he had purchased at Vicchio. The details of this most tiresome affair may be read in full in the "Autobiography"; here it is sufficient to note that the results of the poison not only brought Cellini's life almost to an abrupt conclusion, but left him very weak and ailing for a considerable period after the actual danger had passed away. Meantime, of course, the Duchess seized the opportunity to consign the unfortunate piece of marble to her protégé, Ammannato, with the result that may be seen to this day in the Piazza della Signoria in Florence.

In October 1560 Duke Cosimo, with his family and Court, went to Siena to make their

State Entry and Ammannato was sent beforehand to superintend the decoration of that city for this important occasion. Whilst he was away a bastard son of his removed part of the protecting curtains which were hung around Cellini's model in the Loggia. Benvenuto angrily carried a complaint at once to the Duke's eldest son, Don Francesco. This prince received him kindly, and promised that his grievance should be redressed and further assistance afforded to him.

Cellini, however, was rapidly becoming aware that his fortunes were waning, and he went to see the Duke at Leghorn with the object of asking for his release from State employment. The Duke received him most kindly, encouraged him to accompany him out riding, and listened with interest to the story of his troubles with his rascally tenants. The Ducal Secretary, Bartolommeo Concino, was directed to offer the artist his release if he so desired it ; but, if he were willing to continue in the Ducal service, to assure him that work should speedily be found for him. With these promises Cellini returned to Florence, only to find himself involved in further legal embarrassments with his troublesome tenants. The great " Crucifix " being now finished and set upright

proved most successful. The Duke and Duchess came to see it, and the sculptor again offered to present it to Their Excellencies. Although they could not accept this offer, Duke Cosimo eventually bought it from Cellini for fifteen hundred gold *scudi*; and it remained in the Pitti Palace until 1576, when the Grand Duke Francesco de' Medici, anxious to propitiate Philip II of Spain, sent amongst other gifts this splendid work of art to Madrid. It is now preserved in the Church of San Lorenzo in the Escorial.

Before Their Excellencies left the sculptor's studio he begged them to visit the ground-floor apartments of his house, and to examine the other works of art stored therein. Amongst these the Duchess observed the models for the " Neptune " and for the fountain in the Piazza, which up to that time she had never seen. She expressed herself greatly astonished at their beauty, and promised Cellini another piece of marble with which to carry out these schemes. With kindly words and many further promises the princely pair departed; but weeks passed by without a sign from them.

About this time Catherine de Médicis, widow of Henri II and Regent of France, sent one of her officers, Messer Baccio del Bene, to beg for

financial assistance from her relative Duke Cosimo. Baccio, being a friend of Cellini's, came to him, and in the name of the Queen offered to take him back to France with him and to procure him lucrative employment upon the decorations of the tomb of the late King, her husband. To this Cellini consented, provided that permission could be obtained from the Duke for him to go. The Duke, however, put the Queen's emissary off, and the whole matter, much to Cellini's annoyance, fell through.

And now a series of misfortunes overtook the Ducal family. Cosimo, accompanied by his wife and family,—except Don Francesco, who was in Spain,—started for Pisa, travelling by way of Siena and Grosseto. On the way a fever, due to the pestilential air of the Maremma marshes, attacked the young Cardinal Giovanni, the flower of the flock, and in a few days he succumbed to it. Two of his brothers, Don Garzia and Don Ferdinando, also fell ill from the same cause, and the former died in the following December at Pisa. Twelve days after that sad event, their mother, the Duchess Eleonora, who had been ailing for some time past, followed her sons to the grave.

Cellini chronicles the first of these tragic occurrences and proceeds: "I allowed several

days to pass, until I thought that their tears were dried: *then I went to Pisa.*" No doubt this was with the intention of making some further appeal to the Duke for work; but we do not know with what result, for with those words his own "Autobiography" abruptly terminates.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LAST YEARS
1562–1571

THE remaining eight years of Cellini's life were not marked, as far as we know, by any great artistic achievement. The active and exciting period of his life was over, and the later pages of the "Autobiography" even betray decline both in ability and public appreciation. The Decadence of Florentine sculpture had, indeed, set in with great force, and taste had become woefully debased. And as a matter of fact little can be ascertained about these years except by inference from sundry letters and petitions, and from public documents. Whether the visit to the Duke at Pisa which closes the artist's own narrative produced any result we do not know; probably not, since he must have arrived in that city only to find the Court plunged into deepest mourning through the death of another of the young princes and then of the Duchess Eleonora herself.

Nevertheless, there are a few events of a personal nature omitted from his own "Autobiography," which may well be recorded here.

First, then, we learn from a Minute in the Public Records of the City of Florence that his claim to rank among the Florentine nobility was officially recognized on December 12th 1554.

Next we find that on June 2nd 1558 he received minor orders, although a few years later he married a certain Piera di Salvatore Parigi. The exact date of his marriage is not known, and some critics would identify this person with the Monna Fiora who is spoken of in the "Autobiography" as managing the sculptor's house at the time of the casting of the "Perseus." This, however, is doubtful. In a Petition addressed to the Grand Duke, under date June 12th 1570 the sculptor states that he had married a servant woman, who had nursed him through the illness which resulted from the attempt made to poison him, in fulfilment of a vow made during that illness; and in the same Petition he mentions that by this woman he had had five children, two of whom were apparently born before his marriage. This Piera Parigi, who may have been a relation of the Domenico Parigi, surnamed *Sputasenni*, with whom Cellini

had a very serious dispute, as we shall relate presently, died on April 24th 1588.

Of the eight children born to Cellini of which record can be found, only the three youngest are stated by him to have been legitimate: Liperata (or Reparata), Maddalena, and Andrea Simone. Two more are documentarily recorded as having been the children of the above-mentioned Piera: Giovanni, born March 22nd 1560, and Elisabetta, born October 29th 1562. Another illegitimate daughter, named Costanza, is alluded to in the "Autobiography" as having been born in Paris; but it is a question whether the infant whose accidental death while at nurse at Fiesole caused Cellini so much sorrow[1] and the Jacopo Giovanni, whose birth took place on November 27th 1553,[2] but whose mother's name is not given, were not one and the same. That love for his children was one of the most pleasing traits in Benvenuto's character is evident from the grief he expresses in the "Autobiography" at the death of the former little one, upon whom

[1] Cf. p. 128, *supra*.

[2] There is a "Memorandum" among the Cellini documents preserved in the Biblioteca Riccardiana (*Giornale A*), dated October 1st 1555, that this infant was confided to a foster-mother at Fiesole, and that it died there.

he had set such hopes, and from a letter written to Benedetto Varchi on May 22nd 1563, regarding the death after a short illness of Giovanni, his first child by Piera Parigi.

Besides these children of his own, Cellini, out of a feeling of mistaken kindness and perhaps thinking at that time that he might have no sons of his own, legally adopted Antonio, the son of his model Dorotea by her husband, Domenico Parigi, commonly called Sputasenni. The legal adoption of this lad, who was to bear the name of *Nutino* (diminutive of Benvenuto), took place in November 1560, and the boy was to have all the rights of a legitimate son, together with a sum of one thousand *scudi* on reaching the age of eighteen, provided that he took up the profession of a sculptor. The youngster turned out, however, so idle and troublesome that Cellini was forced to abandon his hopes and to make a monk of him. He therefore entered the convent of the Annunziata under the name of Fra Lattanzio. His father, a hopeless scoundrel, from whose bad influences Cellini tried in vain to protect the young novice, got hold of him and enticed him away from his convent. The sculptor thereupon in 1569 renounced the whole family, and formally disinherited the boy. Sputasenni, on

his son's behalf, then proceeded to sue Cellini on the Deed of Adoption, and sentence was pronounced in his favour. Upon this Cellini appealed to the Duke, and although he succeeded in freeing his estate for his own heirs, he was condemned to pay the young Antonio (for he had now returned to his original name) an annual allowance.

The only one of Cellini's sons who lived to grow up died unmarried and childless, and his daughter Margherita's son by Ser Noferi di Bartolommeo Maccanti died also without heirs of his body, leaving all his property to the Buonuomini di San Martino. Thus the bulk of the Cellini papers found their way eventually into the Biblioteca Palatina Section of the Florence National Library.

In March 1561 the Grand Duke presented Cellini with his house in the Via del Rosaio, now Via della Pergola ; and on February 5th 1563 this gift was further confirmed with reversion to his heirs.

During the last years of his life he was occasionally called in for expert opinion on works of art, and he spent much time and thought in speculating in land.

Finally, on March 16th 1564 he was chosen, in company with Bartolommeo Ammannato,

to represent the Art of Sculpture at the solemn funeral rites in honour of Michelangelo; but to his intense annoyance he was unable to attend through ill-health. He was greatly troubled during his last years by attacks of the gout.

He died on February 15th 1571, having made a variety of Wills on different dates, and he was buried with public honours in the Church of SS. Annunziata in Florence.

After his death a list of his goods and an inventory of his artistic properties was made for the use of his heirs, which is by no means the least interesting of the documents which have survived concerning him.

CHAPTER IX

THE TREATISES AND MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS

THESE may be divided into three groups: (1) The two celebrated "Treatises" on (*a*) "The Art of the Goldsmith"; and (*b*) "The Art of Sculpture." (2) The so-called "Discourses": (*a*) "The Art of Drawing"; (*b*) "Architecture"; (*c*) "The Method of Learning the Art of Drawing." (3) Documents regarding various works of art projected or executed. (4) Letters and Petitions. (5) Poetry of various kinds, to which may be added a collection of "Sonnets" written by a variety of people in praise of the statue of "Perseus."

None of these can be styled as of very great importance, beyond the fact that some of them elucidate and confirm statements in the "Autobiography," except the first group, the Treatises: "On the Art of the Goldsmith" and "On Sculpture."

The reason for writing these two "Treatises" is stated by Cellini himself in Chapter XII of

the "Treatise on the Art of the Goldsmith," and they are prefaced by a "Dedicatory Letter," addressed to the prince, Don Francesco de' Medici, eldest son of the Grand Duke Cosimo, on the occasion of his marriage in 1565 with Joanna of Austria. The first published copy, which appeared in 1568, was, however, dedicated to his brother, Cardinal Ferdinando.

The "Treatise on the Art of the Goldsmith" is divided into thirty-six chapters, and that on "Sculpture" into eight. They are headed as follows:

THE TREATISE ON THE ART OF THE GOLDSMITH

Chapter

I. On the Art of Niello.
II. On Filigree.
III. On the Art of Enamelling.
IV. On Jewellery.
V. How to set a Ruby.
VI. How to set Emeralds and Sapphires.
VII. How to make Foils for all transparent precious stones.
VIII. How to set a Diamond.
IX. How to colour Diamonds.
X. How to make the Reflector for a Diamond.
XI. Concerning White Rubies and Carbuncles.

THE TREATISE ON SCULPTURE

Chapter

I. On the Art of Bronze Casting.
II. How to prepare the above-mentioned Clay.
III. Another Method to employ in casting Bronze Figures, when the Figures are to be as large as life or a little larger.
IV. The Method of making Furnaces for Bronze casting; whether it be for Figures, for Ordnance, or for anything else.
V. How to make Figures and Carvings and other works, such as various kinds of Animals in marble or other stone.
VI. On Carrara Marble.
VII. A Discussion upon Colossal Figures, whether of medium size or very large.
VIII. The Secret of making vast Colossal Statues.

As in the case of the "Autobiography," Cellini was not satisfied with the literary style of his "Treatises" as they stood; but he was not so fortunate in finding an appreciative friend like Benedetto Varchi to advise upon them, and then to leave the work almost intact.

It is not definitely known who the friend actually was to whom the task of overhauling this MS. was committed; but there is good reason for supposing from the allusion made to this personage in the "Letter of Dedication" prefixed to the edition of 1568 and addressed to Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, that the adviser was a certain Gherardo Spini, at that time Secretary to His Eminence. The original autograph copy is unfortunately lost, and therefore the most authoritative version now extant is taken from an early MS. copy, with corrections in Cellini's own handwriting, preserved in the Marcian Library at Venice. The work, as has been said above, first appeared in 1568, three years after the original composition; but it subsequently went through a number of editions in various languages, all of which, however, followed a corrected and polished-up version produced under the auspices of the Accademia della Crusca in 1731. The work has, however, been restored, as far as possible, to its original form through the care and scholarship of Signor Carlo Milanesi.

Cellini commences by stating that no one before his time had ever taken the trouble to write any sort of treatise of instruction in these arts, being apparently in ignorance of the

famous Treatise on these very subjects, compiled three centuries earlier by the monk Theophilus, and included in the third book of his "Schedula diversarum artium." Therein most of the methods described by Cellini are to be found, and even the very names of the tools, the apparatus, the materials, etc., as used at the present day. In fact, Theophilus not only includes all that Cellini relates, but even much more.

The writer then proceeds to give a list of well-known artists, chiefly Florentine, who had essayed to work in precious metals, speaking rather contemptuously regarding the productions of some of them. Amongst them he includes Albrecht Dürer, Martin Schongauer, and Andrea Mantegna.

Next we come to the various instructions themselves, many of them ingenious enough, but not always quite as clear as the instructor perhaps imagined them to be. The most interesting point, however, in these long-winded and confused discourses is the illustrative light that they throw on and the confirmation that they bring to the narrative of the "Autobiography." Amid directions regarding particular kinds of work allusions suddenly crop up to many of the commissions of which

we read in the recital of his life. In some cases the actual history of the commission is detailed again in full with but slight variation, whilst occasionally a fresh or even a conflicting detail appears.

As in the "Autobiography," the author rushes headlong, detailing processes, giving vivid pictures of workshop-life, relating anecdotes, personal reminiscences, historical facts, and a thousand other things; all in a heterogeneous stream, throughout which the one distinctive idea is Cellini himself, the wild, impulsive, and brilliant craftsman, never quite in the first rank as a plastic artist, but always dwelling upon the note of his own super-excellent ability to carry to perfection anything that he had a mind to attempt: a most perfect and overpowering consciousness of himself and of his genius. This forceful sledge-hammer attitude has certainly produced its effect on posterity; even if, as he complains so often, it did not always obtain a recognition in its own day sufficient to satisfy himself. There was a period (from which we are but now just emerging) when every collection throughout the world, public and private alike, brimmed with objects of goldsmiths' work, which were exhibited by proud custodians in tones of awe and reverence as veri-

table works by Cellini. Gold and silver plate, armour, jewellery, coins, every kind of object of *virtu*, even though obviously belonging to other epochs and betraying plainly the handicrafts of Germany, France, and other countries,—even of England,—all these were set down, without hesitation, to this one celebrated craftsman. Other and even finer artists lived and worked during the same period; but none of them stalked across the stage of the sixteenth century with the swagger and bluster that was assumed and carried through so successfully by Benvenuto, son of Master Giovanni Cellini of Florence.

That Cellini did experience moments of distinct artistic inspiration can be abundantly proved by some of his smaller works: as, for example, the wax model for the "Perseus," and by some of the *details* of his larger compositions, such as the base of the great bronze "Perseus," and more especially the bas-relief on the plinth below it. But he seems to have been unable to compose all these detached portions harmoniously together; and an inveterate passion for over-decoration, for almost tortured detail, produces a restless exuberance, which frets and irritates without improving the ultimate result.

His coins and medals are creditable enough, but not conspicuously superior to those of

TWO SILVER PLAQUES
The Vatican, Rome

many of his contemporaries; and the same thing may be said of his seals. Of his jewellery little or nothing can be said, for there is nothing still in existence, amid all the mass of attributed work, that can with any certainty be assigned to him. Nor in spite of all his talk and bluster about experiments can it be said that he added much to the sum of artistic knowledge; or that any specially important processes owe their origin to him. Nevertheless, although in no branch of the plastic arts did he ever quite reach first-class eminence, he still succeeded in impressing his personality upon the history of Art with greater vividness than any of the other craftsmen of his day, and we naturally ask how and why this is so. The answer is simple enough. His really stupendous artistic achievement, though he himself would never have believed it, could he have foreseen it, is the celebrated "Autobiography": a monument of perfectly spontaneous and unconscious art all the more astounding because of its very unconsciousness of artifice. Whilst the "Perseus" leaves the spectator cold, the "Nymph of Fontainebleau" appears attenuated and disproportioned, the famous "Salt-Cellar" garish in colour and faulty in construction, the "Autobiography" goes straight home with the

truth and sincerity of a veritable human document. It enchants the reader with the endless variety of its incident, it holds his attention and imagination spellbound with its headlong rush, until the dramatically abrupt ending leaves one positively gasping for breath. And a still higher compliment has fallen to the share of this renowned work, inasmuch as the celebrated Accademia della Crusca has considered it worthy of a place amongst those works of Italian writers which are held to be classical in their form, and to be resorted to for examples of words, of style, and of diction.

It is thus impossible to finally reckon up Cellini apart from the "Autobiography." As an artist pure and simple, in hardly anything that has survived does he come even into the second rank of great creative work. It is true that his was a period of decline, and that his more fashionable or more courtierlike rivals produced work of a still more degraded and unpleasing type. A partiality for the huge and the bizarre,—Michelangelesque imitations contorted and exaggerated,—had so lowered the standard of public taste, that, though we may not consider Cellini up to the level of the artists of the earlier Renaissance, there is very little question that he far surpassed the

Bandinellis, Ammannatis, and their like, who followed him; and that the severity of his criticisms upon these craftsmen is not entirely unwarranted by fact. One may not greatly admire the composition of the great bronze "Perseus"; but a glance at Bandinelli's appalling "Hercules and Cacus," and beyond it to Ammannato's "Neptune," will explain a great deal that it is at first not so easy to understand and appreciate. The three "Discourses on Art" are of small importance, and the third of them is, in fact, incomplete. The Documents, Letters, and Petitions are of but little interest save for the purpose of verifying the "Autobiography," and helping to complete the Tale of Cellini's life. The poetry is not more remarkable than other similar work of the minor poetasters of the day.

LIST OF WORKS
EXECUTED BY BENVENUTO CELLINI

OF WHICH RECORD IS TO BE FOUND EITHER IN THE "AUTOBIOGRAPHY," THE "TREATISES," OR IN CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS

JEWELLERY

A man's buckle 1518
A woman's girdle . . . . . *circa* 1521
A Lily in diamonds 1524
Steel rings encrusted with gold . . . 1524
Medals for caps 1524
1. Four figures (subjects not specified) .
2. "Leda and the Swan" . . . .
3. "Hercules and the Nemean Lion" . .
4. "Atlas supporting the World" . .
Morse for Pope Clement VII . . 1530–1531
Gold ring of Pope Paul III 1536
The jewels of Francesca Sforza, Countess of Santa Fiora, found in his shop, on October 23rd 1538
Girdle for Eleonora, Duchess of Florence . 1545
Pendant for the same lady 1545
Ring for the same 1546
An Eye of gold 1547
A Crayfish in cornelian . . 1544–1563
Eight heads of animals in *pietra-dura* . . 1559
His own wedding-ring 1570

GOLD AND SILVER PLATE, ETC.

For the Bishop of Salamanca—	
Silver salt-cellar	1519
A pair of candlesticks	1523
A missal bound in violet velvet, with silver mountings	1547
Ditto (small), bound in violet satin	1547
Ewer	1524
Ewer for Cardinal Cibo	1524
Ewers for Cardinals Cibo, Cornaro, Ridolfi, and Salviati	1524
Small vases for Giacomo da Carpi	1524
Crucifixes	1524
The Mantua Reliquary	1528
The Chalice of Pope Clement VII	1531
A statuette of Our Lady	1535
A Book of Hours for the Emperor Charles V	1536
Gold plate found in his shop, October 23rd	1538
Models of gold plate executed for the Cardinal of Ravenna	1540–1549
For Ippolito d' Este, Cardinal of Ferrara—	
Ewer and basin	1537–1540
Four silver candlesticks	
A silver cup	
The setting of a rosary	
Salt-cellar for Francis I	1540
A large vase with two handles	1540–1543
A small vase for the Cardinal of Lorraine	1543
Three large silver-gilt vases	1543–1544
Two small silver vases	1543–1544
Jupiter and other colossal statues	1540–1544

Statuettes in gold 1540–1544
Goblet for the Duchess Eleonora . . . 1545
Vase of chased gold 1561
Silver vase for Duke Cosimo de' Medici 1544–1553
Various vases executed after his designs .
Small silver vases 1546

Seals

For Ercole di Gonzaga, Cardinal of Mantua . 1528
Ditto for the same 1528
For Federigo di Gonzaga, Marquess and first Duke of Mantua 1528
For Ippolito d' Este, Cardinal of Ferrara . 1539
Two seals for the Office of Works at Saint Peter's, Rome 1531

Coins and Medals

Gold Doubloon, made for Pope Clement VII 1529–1530
Ditto, ditto, ditto 1529–1530
Silver two-*carlini* piece, made for Pope Clement VII 1529–1530
Two sets of medals for Pope Clement VII in gold, silver, and copper 1534
Gold *Scudo* for Pope Paul III . . . 1534
Silver piece for Alessandro de' Medici . . 1535
Silver *Julius* 1535
Silver Half-*julius* 1535
Gold *Scudo* 1535
Medal for Alessandro de' Medici . . . 1535
Ditto of Pietro Bembo 1537
Medal (Paris) 1537
Ditto (Ferrara) 1540

BRONZE PLAQUE OF A DOG

In the Bargello, Florence

Various Medals—

A gold medal of "Mars"	1538
A leaden medallion of Francis I	1538
Medals in wax and lead: subjects not known	
Ten silver medals of Pope Clement VII[1]	1538
A silver medal of Pope Julius II	1533
A gold medal of Pope Paul III[1]	1588

SCULPTURE

Busts—

The Cardinal of Ferrara	1540
The Cardinal of Ravenna	1540
Julius Cæsar	1540–1541
A Young Woman	1540–1541
The Nymph of Fontainebleau	1543–1544
Model of a Fountain for the Park at Fontainebleau	1543
Bas-relief of a Dog	1545
Bust of Cosimo de' Medici	1545
Another bust of the same	
Portraits of the Duchess Eleonora de' Medici	1549–1570
"Ganymede" (restoration of an antique)	1546–1547
"Apollo and Hyacinth"	1546
"Narcissus"	1546–1547
"Perseus"	1546–1547
Four statuettes upon the base of the above ("Mercury," "Minerva," "Jove," and "Danae with the Infant Perseus")	1546–1547
Bas-relief also upon the same base ("Perseus delivering Andromeda")	1546–1547

[1] Some of these may perhaps be identified with those recorded above.

Model of a Sepulchral Monument	1549
Restoration of ancient Bronzes	1549
Bust of Bindo Altoviti	1550
A marble Crucifix	1556
Models for Pulpits and Bas-reliefs in the Duomo in Florence	1547
Model for a statue of "Neptune"	1559
"Leda and the Swan"	1559
"Juno and Andromeda"	1570

Besides these there is a long list still extant of works left incomplete in Benvenuto Cellini's studio at his death.

Armour

Poniards inlaid with gold	1524
A Carbine	1524
Steel Finger-rings	1524
A Steel Mirror	1538
A Poniard with a handle of lapis-lazuli and gold	1538
A Dagger and a Light Cavalry Mace	1540

Architecture

We know, from the "Autobiography" and elsewhere, that Cellini was frequently consulted on this subject, both military and artistic.

Drawings

These are frequently alluded to, and we are told that Cellini generally preferred to work from his own designs.

Authentic examples of the work of Benvenuto Cellini still in existence

Jewellery

All authorities are now agreed that under this head there is not one piece of jewellery in existence that can be definitely assigned to this craftsman : and that although there are a few pieces which might conceivably be from his workshop, there are a vast number more which have been attributed to him through ignorance or dishonesty.

Gold and Silver Plate

The same remark, with but one exception, applies here also. A vast number of pieces of plate have been recklessly assigned to Cellini, many of them not even of Italian workmanship at all. But to none of them can the epithet " authentic " be truthfully ascribed except to the famous " Salt-Cellar of Francis I," now in the Imperial Treasury at Vienna.

Seals

Two impressions of the Seal made for the Cardinal of Mantua (the first-named in the foregoing list) may still be seen in the Episcopal Archives at Mantua ; and an impression from the Seal of the Cardinal of Ferrara is preserved in the Museum at Lyons.

Medals and Coins

Of the two Gold Doubloons made for Pope Clement VII, an example of the former is in the Cabinet of Coins at Turin, and of the latter in the Cabinet at Milan. A specimen of the silver Two-*carlini* piece

is in the Cabinet de France. Of the two medals made for this Pope, the stamps and dies are treasured in the Museo Nazionale, in Florence; whilst an example of the latter coin is also in the Cabinet de France. In that same collection may also be seen examples of the gold *Scudo* made for Pope Paul III, and also of the same coin and of the silver piece made for Alessandro de' Medici. A silver *Julius* is in the Coin-Collection in Florence, and the Half-*julius* in the Cabinet at Turin.

Besides these the following medals may be attributed with good reason to Cellini; and some of them may be identified with those in the list above.

A medal of Alessandro de' Medici; of which there is one example in the Florentine Cabinet of Coins, and another in gilt-bronze in the British Museum.

Three other medals of the same Prince; examples of them all are in the Florentine Cabinet.

A medal of Cardinal Bembo in the Collection of M. Armand.

Two medals of Cardinal Ippolito d' Este, of which examples are said to exist in Milan; but which are so far only traceable through the engravings of Litta.

A medal of Cardinal Jean de Lorraine in the Armand Collection.

A medal of Bindo Altoviti.

Sculpture

"The Nymph of Fontainebleau" (bronze). Now in the Louvre.

Bas-relief of a Dog (bronze). Now in the Bargello, Florence.

Bust of Cosimo de' Medici (colossal bronze). Now in the Bargello, Florence.

" Ganymede " (restoration of an antique marble). Now in the Bargello, Florence.

" Perseus " (colossal bronze group with base, etc.). Now in the Loggia de' Lanzi, Florence.

" Perseus delivering Andromeda " (the original bas-relief belonging to the base of the above). Now in the Bargello, Florence.

Bust of Bindo Altoviti (bronze). Now in the Collection of Mrs. John Gardner, Boston, U.S.A.

A Crucifix (life-size marble). Now in the Escorial, Madrid.

To these may be added :

" Perseus " (wax statuette). Now in the Bargello, Florence.

" Perseus " (bronze statuette). Now in the Bargello, Florence.

" Ganymede seated upon an Eagle " (bronze statuette). Now in the Bargello, Florence.

" Perseus " (bronze statuette). Now in the Collection of M. Davillier.

" Pluto " (bronze statuette). Now in the Collection of Mr. E. Cheney, London.

Crucifix (small bronze). Now in the Collection of M. le Baron d' Eperjèsy de Tzàsvaros et Toti.

Portrait of Francesco de' Medici (wax profile). Now in the Collection of Comm. Luigi Vaj, Florence.

Armour

Once more we find it impossible to state definitely that any of the many pieces of armour so recklessly attributed to Cellini are really examples of his work-

manship, because we have no certain piece upon which we can safely base our arguments.

Architecture

Nothing now remains in which Cellini's hand can be definitely traced.

Drawings

There is extant but one drawing—that of his own Coat of Arms—(now preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Florence) which can be actually and conclusively assigned to Benvenuto Cellini, although it is true that there are certain drawings—rough sketches for jewellery designs, etc.—which resemble the kind of drawings that we should expect him to have made from time to time.

Note.—In the large and elaborate translation of the " Autobiography " undertaken by me for Messrs. George Bell and Sons (1910), the question of all the works of art by Cellini and attributed to him is gone into very fully and at considerable length, giving authorities, etc.—R. H. H. C.

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